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FIRST THINGS

JANUARY 2000
NUMBER 99

What Can We Reasonably Hope For?

A MILLENNIUM SYMPOSIUM

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ROBERT H. BORK • WILLIAM A. DEMBSKI
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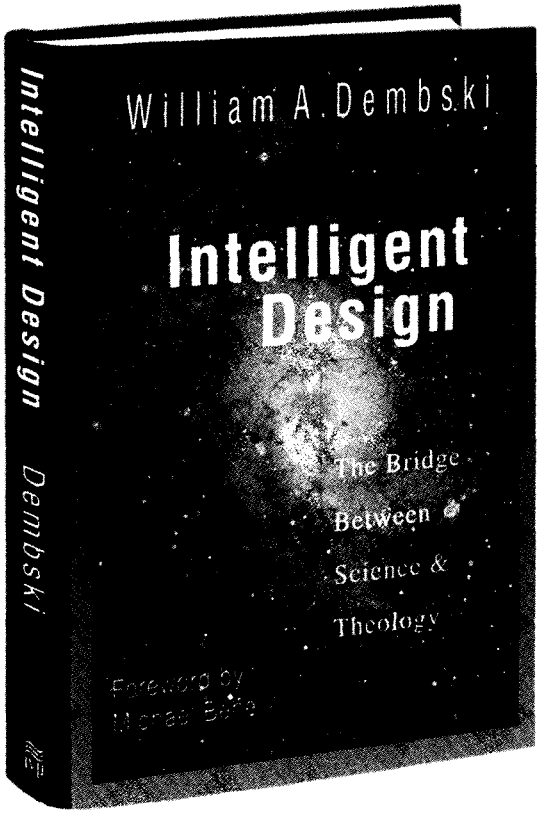

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Richard John Neuhaus

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Man and Machine

William A. Dembski's "Are We Spiritual Machines?" (October 1999) challenges the spiritualistic materialism of strong Artificial Intelligence enthusiasts such as Marvin Minsky with arguments that are among the best I have ever seen. There are no doubt other Christians with Mr. Dembski's first-class scientific credentials, but very few trouble to bring their Christianity into the public square. He is both an inspiration and challenge to other Christian scientific and technical professionals to do the same.

Because I so much want him to succeed in these endeavors, I wish to point out a difficulty in his article that may prevent his reaching a larger audience. In his argument, he posits a definition of "machine" that is something of a straw man (or straw machine, I should say). His machine is just as much an abstraction as he claims the materialists' matter is: an arbitrary, idealized device with absolutely identical interchangeable parts, with no history and no determinate future, completely subject to adjustment and transformation by its human inventors and users.

Just as there are big differences between the philosophers' "God" and God, I claim there is a huge gap between Mr. Dembski's "machine" and real machines. Many scientists and engineers I know would not recognize his hypothetical machine. Machines do have a history, which is the history of their interaction with humans. And machines do have a future, which is what humans will do with them. Perhaps I misunderstand Mr. Dembski's Aristotelian/Thomistic terminology, but it seems to me that a man with a gun is not just an arbitrary combination of man and gun; it is a "thing" with a "substantial form" that depends essentially upon the gun as well as the man. When Mr. Dembski assumes an artificial separation between human and machine, it allows him to derive certain desirable conclusions. But his argument cannot cope with problems posed by some AI consciousness researchers.

It may be possible in the future, for example, to mimic the function of parts of the brain in a way that is essentially identical to the processes that take place in neurons, and replace these human parts with pieces of silicon (or other artificial computational devices) without changing either the externally observed or internally introspected nature of the human who is subject to this experiment. At what point in this brain-replacement process would it no longer be proper to speak of the "substantial form" of the human to whom it is done? Simply calling this notion a form of "promissory materialism" and saying it hasn't been done yet does not properly answer the question, but just sweeps it under the rug.

Karl D. Stephan
Austin, Texas

In "Are We Spiritual Machines?" William A. Dembski poses fundamental scientific alternatives: "What else could mind be except an effect of matter? . . . The only alternative conception of mind appears to be a Cartesian dualism that makes mind a substance separate from matter . . . with no coherent means of interaction." He rightly notes that "given this choice, almost no one these days opts for substance dualism."

Cartesian dualism arose in the early stages of the first scientific revolution that culminated in the late seventeenth century, while we are still coming to grips with the quantum revolution of the twentieth century. A few have begun to ponder connections with mind and spirit. A very few—

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whether serious scientists and thinkers or cranks, I don't know—really are considering a world of "material and nonmaterial things." One can at least glimpse how physical theory might someday provide an account of "spiritual substances [capable] of coherently interacting with matter," all within a framework fitting pretty comfortably with the current structure of physical law yet allowing for mental or spiritual agency, including the possibility of free will. Whether one calls this physical or metaphysical may be unimportant.

What of the spirit—mind or soul if you prefer—and how it comes to be? Consider a thought experiment. Take the simplest possible human entity—a cloned human embryo, for example. Let it develop—nine months, nine years. Is it conscious? Does it have a mind? A soul? If you are like me you will think so. Does this "spirit" not arise in conjunction with matter following natural laws? Maybe the spirit was already present at the formation of the cloned cell.

Then try a variant of the experiment. Assemble the embryo not by cloning an existing human being, but by assembling atoms into macromolecules, and macromolecules into something with the physical aspects of a human cell. Again allow the entity its natural development. If like me you think you have made a conscious human being, what was the "mind-stuff" organized around the physico-chemical matter, and how did the natural processes perform this mysterious work? My hunch is that eventually this will have a "natural" scientific account, of which even now we are forming a hazy notion.

Perhaps I am comforted by the thought that mind-stuff, matter, and natural laws are creations of God. I am still utterly terrified—if not by the thought experiment, then by the prospect (wait a few years) of performing the experiment for real, not only to construct human beings, but completely artificial spiritual beings, not machines, designed de novo. If this mind-body science or natural philosophy comes to fruition, it will literally allow us to play God, in ways foreseen not even by biotechnology. It is not too soon for us all to begin to think about this.

Michael Kellman
Institute of Theoretical Science
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

While I agree with William A. Dembski's negative answer to the question, "Are We Spiritual Machines?" I think the legs upon which his argument stands are broken.

First, Mr. Dembski understands a machine to be "fully determined by the constitution, dynamics, and interrelationships of its physical parts." This is true only of a machine whose present state is independent of its prior states. Such memoryless machines are described mathematically as Markov processes. That non-Markov machines exist is shown by a simple example: the magnetization of a piece of iron immersed in an oscillating magnetic field depends on the values of the external field in the past, as well as in the present. This effect is known to freshman physics students as hysteresis. Mr. Dembski's idea of a machine is restrictive and oversimplified. Second, Mr. Dembski rests a great part of his argument on showing that the "physical" and the "spiritual" cannot overlap. As a physicist, I must point out that we are only just beginning to understand what the "physical" is. Given that the large-scale structure of the universe is dominated by the presence of still mysterious Dark Matter, and that on the smallest scales empty space sustains quantum oscillations whose energy density dwarfs that of all known forms of matter, we should hesitate to imply that the physical and spiritual realms cannot be even partially consubstantial.

Third, in his argument that computation cannot produce intelligent agency, Mr. Dembski fails to note that we have only begun to explore analog computation, which mimics the way simple neural systems process information, and quantum computation, whose method of solving problems mimics a "leap of intuition."

I refer Mr. Dembski to the works of J. C. Eccles—for example, "Do mental events cause neural events analogously to the probability fields of quantum mechanics?" (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, B 227, pp. 411-428, 1986). After perusing them, let him or anyone else try to tease the themes of machinery, physicality, and computation apart from spirituality as cleanly as Mr. Dembski seems to think he has done.

John A. H. Futterman
Lawrence Livermore National
Laboratory
Livermore, California

William A. Dembski replies:

Karl Stephan raises the objection that my conception of a machine as a physical system constrained entirely by its constitution, dynamics, and interrelationships of parts is just as much an abstraction as the Enlightenment conception of matter that I challenge. Granted. But this conception of machine is precisely the one that flows out of the Enlightenment conception of matter, and it is Enlightenment materialism as well as its contemporary variants that is at issue. Give me a richer world of substantial forms, and we can dispense with talk of humans being machines, much less spiritual machines—indeed, in such a richer world (and I believe it's such a world that we inhabit) there are no machines in the sense that I define the term. It's the materialists who have thrown in our face the prospect that we are machines, and it's on their own terms that I trace the consequences (and incoherence) of humans being machines.

Karl Stephan and Michael Kellman both raise some thought experiments which, if actualized, could demonstrate that we are in fact machines. The point of contention here is

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whether humans are able artificially to construct some device or prosthesis that functionally reproduces human intelligent action. I'm afraid I'm with Willard Quine in taking a dim view of thought experiments that for both theoretical and practical reasons seem utterly fantastical. No doubt my critics will charge a failure of imagination on my part. I rather see it as a skepticism that is unwilling to take materialist promissory notes, especially when materialism as a regulating principle for science is becoming increasingly sterile.

Suffice it to say that if some clever chaps construct a machine that trounces our intellectual capacities, I shall be proved wrong and shall retract the claims in my article. But the point of my article is to show why we shouldn't be intimidated into thinking that this is anywhere in the offing, and that there are indeed good reasons for thinking that no such offing is possible. I'm afraid our society labors under the misapprehension that science is constantly pushing back research frontiers and that with every scientific advance the sacred and numinous gets pushed back further. In fact, scientific progress is much more a matter of pruning and reevaluation, wherein problems thought to be resolved come crashing back at us with resounding irresolution.

John A. H. Futterman, with his rapid-fire rebuttals, provides what appears the strongest criticism of my piece. But in fact his criticisms fail point for point. I did not write that machines have no memory, but that they have no history. There's a big tree outside the Auschwitz concentration camp that was witness to the horrors that occurred there. Its "memory," as instantiated in its physical constitution, is indistinguishable from that of other trees. Its history, however, is quite different from that of other trees. Mr. Futterman charges that my definition of machine is oversimplified. But a physical system constrained entirely by its constitution, dynamics, and interrelationships of parts is perfectly capable of storing memories in the physicalist sense that Mr. Futterman requires.

Next Mr. Futterman attributes to me the claim that the physical and the spiritual cannot overlap, whereupon he launches into the mysterious properties of matter that physicists are finding. First off, I am not a substance dualist. I do not make a sharp distinction between the physical and the spiritual. But I do argue against trying to resynthesize the spiritual from the physical. Mr. Futterman invokes mysterious Dark Matter and quantum theory as signaling that the physical world is far richer than we thought, and then points to analog computation and quantum computation as possible redoubts for mind or spirit. I agree with Mr. Futterman that the physical world is much more mysterious than we might have suspected. But his invocation of analog and quantum computation as a possible solution to the mind-body problem is more of the same materialist hype.

Computational research is overwhelmingly digital, and given Moore's Law (the amount of information storable on a given amount of silicon roughly doubles every year or eighteen months) and the speed with which digital computation is gaining power, Mr. Futterman is offering yet another promissory note when he suggests untold possibilities for analog computation. (Note that analog computers—thermostats, for example—have been around for a while; it's not as though this is an untried technology.)

As for quantum computation, if the technology can be successfully implemented, it will allow the solution of certain problems that are intractable for current digital computers. But the advantages do not apply across the board, and we are talking an increase in computational speed, not a qualitative difference in the type of computation performed. Mr. Futterman's reference to quantum computers solving problems by a "leap of intuition" is therefore less a matter of sober scientific assessment than rhapsodic misdirection by a scientist who should know better.

Finally, Mr. Futterman refers me to the problem of untangling machinery, physicality, computation, quantum mechanics, and spirit. I never denied that they were entangled. But I do deny that a neat account of spirit, mind, and agency can be given in terms other than spirit, mind, and agency. Although the physical and the spiritual are entangled, neither of them is dispensable. To claim that we are machines—and I would argue that the definition I gave is general enough to accommodate the richness that Futterman finds in the physical world—is to claim that the spiritual is dispensable and that the physical is primary. In my article I argued against this claim. I have yet to be offered compelling reasons for retracting that argument.

God and Man(hood)

Daniel P. Moloney's review of my book *The Church Impotent* gives a somewhat distorted impression of my approach. I tend to assume a fairly high level of literacy in my audience. When I said that the source for Bernard of Clairvaux's individualistic bridal mysticism was ultimately Origen, I did not think anyone would think I had claimed that Bernard had read Origen in the original Greek (the knowledge of Greek had vanished in the West) or even that he in fact knew that the ultimate source was Origen. The remark meant only that Bernard could have claimed patristic authority in Origen for his reading of the Song of Songs, but that of course Bernard would not be willing to acknowledge so heterodox a source. Perhaps the other historical errors that Mr. Moloney detects are of this nature. I regret any tendency to mislead readers who do not have a background in medieval studies.

The source of the undoubted lack of men in the Church may even be irrelevant. Once a situation is femi-

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nized (that is, identified as something mainly of concern to women), the feminization tends to be self-perpetuating, even if the original cause of feminization ceases. Bridal mysticism may have vanished (although respondents to my book have supplied me with many contemporary instances). However, something has caused the lack of men in all Western churches, and the means to correct this problem (I hope Mr. Moloney sees it as a problem) are more important than its remote historical source, unless, of course, that source continues to operate.

Contrary to the impression Mr. Moloney gives, I do not place my main stress on the psychosexual differentiation of the infant boy from his mother (although this is important). More important are the initiatory rites and experiences that are designed to separate males from the safety of boyhood and to prepare them for the challenges of life. Males seek a separation from ordinary, safe life to attain a transformation into something higher: manhood. This is an almost universal pattern, and it is in this pattern of separation that I see the essence of masculinity. The association of separation and masculinity occurs in many religions (see David D. Gilmore's *Manhood in the Making*), including Judaism and Christianity.

I see Christianity not as the denial but the fulfillment of masculinity. Women do not have to sacrifice their femininity and maternal nature to be Christians. I also think that men do not have to cease to be masculine to become Christian, but this is the impression generally given by the churches of the West.

Leon J. Podles
Baltimore, Maryland

Daniel P. Moloney takes Leon Podles to task for mistakenly tracing bridal mysticism to Bernard of Clairvaux and the early Middle Ages. He cites Ambrose as a Latin patristic source, more influential in the Latin West than Origen, whom Podles concedes to be a forerunner. Mr. Moloney understates the case. A summary treatment of the subject, like the chapter on the Song of Songs in Jean Danielou's *The Bible and the Liturgy*, with its wealth of citations from the early Church, would establish his point even more convincingly. Bridal imagery was certainly applied not just to the church corporate but also to the soul of the individual Christian.

However, the discussion turns on the meaning of the term "bridal mysticism." Many scholars, as noted by Podles, understand the term to apply to a certain current of medieval devotion. This made use of the marriage symbolism of the Scriptures and patristic period to provide, as Podles puts it, an "imaginative playing-out of [a] privileged relationship with God." In the early Church the symbolism was applied to the individual as an image of his or her membership in the Church and union with Christ, common to all Christians. In the Latin Middle Ages, beginning at least in preliminary form with Bernard, it became the source of a special love affair with Christ, imaginatively conceived in meditation. Podles here has the better case and can rely on much scholarly support.

Podles' case could be strengthened by other considerations. He does not treat the parallel development in Marian devotion in which adult women and men were encouraged to relate to Mary as little children attached to their mother, relying on her to get them out of all trouble or at least comfort them in a motherly way. He does not treat modern hymns and songs that can only be sung by men who are comfortable with entering into a Platonic (one hopes) homosexual relationship with Jesus or a feminine receptivity towards God. He does not consider the emphasis on masculine spirituality to be found in the pre-Vatican II Popes and in Catholic Action, as well as in many of its offshoots like the Cursillo movement. These would confirm his discomfort with the feminization of modern Christianity.

Moreover, Mr. Moloney to the contrary notwithstanding, many examples of both bridal mysticism and its devotional descendants can be found in mainline Protestantism and, even more, in the dominant Evangelical and Charismatic/Pentecostal Protestantism of our day. Such additions would strengthen, but not change, Podles' case, at the price of course of making the book considerably longer.

I would agree with other criticisms that Mr. Moloney makes. However, Podles has a solid case that the aftereffect of the Western medieval "bridal" devotional current is a significant contributor to the discomfort a large number of men nowadays feel in investing themselves in spiritual movements or even church itself. More importantly, Podles' book is not written to make an academic case. It is written for theologically literate laypeople and clergy to raise the alarm over a major problem that few others are talking about. He has many elements that would go into a plausible explanation of a complex phenomenon and many potentially helpful suggestions for lines of solution.

Stephen B. Clark
Ann Arbor, Michigan
(The writer is the author of Man and Woman in Christ, *published by Servant.)*

Leon Podles assumes (correctly) that men and women both have a need for spirituality, the hunger for God's grace that so often goes unrecognized as such. He then discusses "bridal mysticism," as it has evolved since the time of Bernard, as an artificial and unbiblical stumbling block to male reception of saving grace. Daniel P. Moloney trivializes this concern by saying that "bridal mysticism . . . has its roots in Scripture (especially in the Song of Songs and 2 Corinthians 11:2). . . . If bridal mysticism is responsible for scaring men away from the Church, then it should have done so much earlier than the twelfth cen-

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tury, and in the Eastern churches as well."

The concept of the Church as the "Bride of Christ," however, is not what Podles is challenging. In fact, he states that "In the New Testament, the bride is the Church." What he finds an impediment to men is the later development in which "the individual Christian, body and soul, came to be seen as the bride of Christ." He suggests, with much supporting evidence, that the idea of the individual woman as the "bride of Christ" has led to eroticized expressions of the individual's union with Christ. He provides abundant examples of such eros, some of which are startlingly close to soft porn ("a swift shot from his spear of love," "strong thrusts came against me").

Podles postulates that this eventually led to the notion that women, because of what some modern writers call their "will to surrender, the readiness to be receptive," enjoy a preferential option to receive the grace of Christ. Podles quotes a "modern Dominican" to say, "Annul me in my manhood, Lord, and make me woman-sexed and weak." He quotes another modern writer who says that "it is femininity rather than masculinity which symbolizes the right attitude of the whole person before God."

Has Podles shown that Western churches have developed a "feminized" spirituality? Well, yes and no. There is no question that the concepts of the "feminine" soul, or the soul as passive or submissive in a "feminine" way, are not uncommon in modern Christian writing, both among traditionalists and dissident feminists. The Church's official teaching, however, states, "The unity of soul and body is so profound that one has to consider the soul to be the 'form' of the body. . . . Spirit and matter, in man, are not two natures united, but rather their union forms a single nature." This is certainly true, and it is consistent with Pauline theology of the body.

If the soul and body form "a single nature," can men have "feminine" souls? When a man stands repentant before the Cross of Christ, does he do so with a man's soul in unity with his body, or must he somehow become "women-sexed and weak"? Christ displayed amply all of the attributes normally ascribed to men—did he have to become "feminine" to become supremely tender, as he often was? In light of Church teaching, can we even speak of an individual's soul changing in some way independently of his body?

Podles has raised many issues, and they are not trivial. Feminists are adept at quoting mystic sensualists, including saints of the Church, to support their promotion of priestesses in the Church and other anti-patriarchal causes. Mr. Moloney should not fault Podles for using feminist writers as resources—they are the ones who have brought such information to the fore recently, although for different purposes than Podles had in mind. Neither should he criticize Podles for characterizing Christian life as "spiritual warfare (a masculine image)." Christian life *is* spiritual warfare, and men and women have been and still are gallant warriors for Christ in this regard.

Podles' book is tremendously important in that he brings out the confusion that has resulted in the perception of women as somehow more eligible for God's saving grace than men, simply because they are female. I think the concept that women are receptive, passive, surrendering (or in any way more moral in the religious sense than men are) is charmingly naive, despite the dominant female presence in church. Women lurch away from the Truth as often as men do, albeit in different ways (note, for example, the lines at abortion clinics). I, for one, hope Leon Podles continues to explore ways to bring men back to the Church.

S. M. Schrader
Anchorage, Alaska

Daniel P. Moloney replies:

If I read his letter correctly, Leon J. Podles effectively concedes my criticism of the historical narrative that makes up chapters four through eight of his ten chapter book. Or more precisely, he is willing to regard the bulk of his book as "irrelevant" to his thesis that there is something about Christianity as practiced today that is inherently off-putting to masculine men, and so won't bother to defend it. I must say I am surprised; I don't think I've ever seen an author concede so much so lightly.

In my decision to focus my review on Dr. Podles' historical and psychological explanations for the relative dearth of men in church, it never occurred to me that his proposals for reform in chapter ten were quite so independent from his scholarship and analysis in chapters one through nine.

Although I think Dr. Podles concedes too much in his letter, in other respects he does not concede enough. He says I mischaracterize his discussion about the psychosexual basis of masculinity in that I put the emphasis on the young boy's separation from his mother rather than on the young man's separation from boyhood in initiation rites. I don't see how this difference in emphasis is supposed to avoid the logical fallacy I outlined in the review.

To recall, my criticisms were based not so much on the *substance* of Dr. Podles' psychological or anthropological research but on the *use* of that research for the rest of his argument. I claimed his argument involved an impermissible generalization: because masculinity requires an act of separation of one sort, all acts of separation are masculine. Dr. Podles' clarification preserves that mistake.

Dr. Podles also suggests I am a picky academic who exaggerated an insignificant and correctable mistake about whether Bernard of Clairvaux read Origen in the Greek. My point in the review, though, was that there were patristic commentators on the Song of Songs other than Origen, and

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that probably much more influential on Bernard were the Latin patristic commentators on the Song of Songs, especially Ambrose (339-397). This was not a case of showing off or name-dropping: it was an attack on the rather crude timeline that Dr. Podles wished to draw—before Bernard, pure manly spirituality; after Bernard, effeminate bridal mysticism. Both Stephen B. Clark and S. M. Schrader recognize that getting that timeline wrong critically damages Dr. Podles' argument, and in sympathy try to defend him. I am not persuaded, however, by their efforts on his behalf.

Full-fledged bridal mysticism did begin with Origen, but it is not and was not heretical, as my quotation from Ambrose indicates. (Although he took a few positions that were deemed heretical after his death, most of Origen's writings were orthodox; he was always considered a Father of the Church.) Ambrose was an Origenist in his mysticism. He wrote of the believer's soul kissing Jesus, his Divine Lover, calling to him and waiting eagerly for his caresses, asking to be awakened from his sleep to be filled with his presence. The wedding night was the culmination of the believer's individual spiritual union with his Lord. In his treatise *On Isaac*, Ambrose even developed the gender-bending image of the patriarch Isaac as the passive Rebekah. Ambrose was clearly a source for eleventh- and twelfth-century bridal mysticism, and, in his *On Virginity*, he even encouraged the aristocratic women who wanted to enter convents to use the Song of Songs to think of themselves as brides of Christ.

There are other Latin patristic bridal mystics as well, and, contra Messrs. Clark and Schrader, they use the image of spiritual marriage to describe the individual believer's union with God. Individual longing for God was a major theme of patristic Christianity, reaching its literary zenith in Augustine's *Confessions*. Augustine's passionate desire for an individual, loving, face-to-face relationship with God seems to have influenced certain parts of Gregory the Great's commentary on the Song of Songs in an individualistic direction, prompting one medieval scholar to refer to Gregory as the "Doctor of Desire." Gregory, Pope and monk, was perhaps the dominant spiritual figure for early medieval monasticism, especially among Benedictines (his hagiographic portrait of Benedict is our only source for the details of Benedict's life).

Another influential sixth-century monastic, Caesarea of Arles, wrote, "The souls not only of nuns, but of all men and women, if they will guard chastity of the body and virginity of the heart . . . should not doubt that they are spouses of Christ," and he put forward the spiritual marriage to Jesus in Heaven as reason for remaining celibate while on earth. Like Ambrose, Caesarea developed his bridal mysticism while writing rules for women who wanted to live in convents, but its implications for the spiritual life he applied to both men and women. Dr. Podles wants to make much of the warrior motif in the era of "heroic Christianity," and he claims that the Benedictine monks were properly manly because they saw the spiritual life as a struggle with Satan while twelfth-century Cistercians and women saw it as an erotic submission to Jesus the bridegroom. This is historically inaccurate, demeaning to this provocative and orthodox way of relating to God, and it plays right into the hands of the homosexual apologists who want to carnalize such daring spiritual language. Bridal mysticism is a *development* of the motif of spiritual struggle against oneself, not a contrary spiritual impulse.

As Charlotte Allen has pointed out in these pages ("The Holy Feminine," December 1999), the struggle against one's inclinations that is necessary for the Christian life led women to take on "manly" mortifications and men to adopt "womanly" virtues such as charity. In the hands of these spiritual geniuses, bridal mysticism was a way for a very masculine man to humble himself and leave behind his earthly maleness. Lesser preachers have used it to pander to women, but its abuse does not convict its proper use.

I agree with Messrs. Clark and Schrader that *The Church Impotent* raises important issues, issues most academics would not touch. I said as much in my review. I also said, however, that Dr. Podles raised them injudiciously, and I am now even more confident in that assessment.

On Edith Stein

While I found David Novak's piece "Edith Stein, Apostate Saint" (October 1999) to be admirable in many ways, there is much more to be said on the relationship between the Jewish and Christian communities.

I take Professor Novak's premise to heart: "After all, it is a question of truth, and truth is what we are both all about." Precisely. But that truth goes to the depth of who and what is the unutterable, unspeakable mystery we call "God." The revelation of Jesus as communicator of that truth is simply this: God is love through and through; He is "Abba," Father, who desires the salvation of all men and women by union with Himself on Earth as in Heaven. That communion of love goes beyond the particular symbols of our communities — sources of salvation as they may be for each of us—to a deeper union in God as we practice who and what God is: love itself.

Thus the revelation of Jesus goes to the core of the unspeakable mystery and that core is love. To the degree that we love God and love each other, we do the work of Him who is present in each one, Jew or Christian or pagan, who loves and tries to love God more and more. It is that union of love even here below that is the beginning of the kingdom of God into which we enter by God's grace and presence.

Therefore we must go beyond all our particular symbols (which remain

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authentic and salvific) to the essence of what Jesus (and the prophets) have revealed to us about God. We are joined as sons and daughters of that Abba when we love, irrespective of the distinct symbols that make us Jews or Christians or any other religion.

Peter J. Riga
Houston, Texas

David Novak's comments on "Edith Stein, Apostate Saint" illustrate well the irreducible conflict between the truth-claims of Judaism and Christianity, a conflict that no amount of good will and mutual respect can overcome.

As one raised a Jew, but for many years now a practicing Christian, I could not help but hear in Professor Novak's essay overtones of the ill will and bitterness frequently found in the Jewish community toward those like myself. Thus, while Prof. Novak can admit that the faithful Christian necessarily believes that Christianity supersedes Judaism, and can further admit that "any Jew who believes Christianity supersedes Judaism can only in good faith become a Christian," he nonetheless denigrates the motives and faith of most of those whom he calls "apostate" Jews. "Jews," Novak tells us, "have been able to dismiss most modern Jewish converts to Christianity as people motivated by social or professional ambition, self-hatred, ignorance, or mental imbalance." Edith Stein, however, "comes across as sui generis," the "most uniquely problematic Jew . . . since Saul of Tarsus" because none of those dismissive explanations apply.

This presumption that virtually all other Jewish converts to Christianity are motivated by self-interest, self-hatred, ignorance, or mental imbalance, rather than a good faith belief in the truth of Christianity, is the source of much unnecessary pain and discord. While these attitudes may be attributed to the long centuries when apostasy from Judaism could serve worldly interests, they fail to fit the contemporary West, where religion has little discernible effect on "social or professional ambition."

It sometimes seems that contemporary Jewish anxieties about shrinking demographics are channeled into an unattractive hostility toward that small minority of Jews who become practicing Christians. The statistical reality, so far as I can tell, is that Judaism in the contemporary world is far more threatened by a simple lack of interest by Jews in Judaism, and hence an inability to pass on (as a religious faith) beliefs that are not broadly held. Atheism, pantheism, and paganism have, it would seem, made far more inroads within the Jewish community than Christianity, but Jews who adhere to these religious inclinations, because they do not join a rival covenant community, largely escape the censure of the Jewish community.

In the end, of course, I have to leave it to the Jewish community where to direct its anxiety and ire; since I am considered an "apostate" Jew (but still a Jew!) I am hardly in a position of influence. Nonetheless, I would like to assure Prof. Novak that there are many Jews who convert to Christianity out of sincere religious belief, and that while we are keenly aware of the hostility of many Jews toward our existence, most of us love, rather than hate, our Jewishness.

David Smolin
Cumberland Law School
Samford University
Birmingham, Alabama

I was pleasantly surprised to see that David Novak has come to what appears to me to be virtually the same conclusion that I enunciated a number of years ago, while writing from a Christian perspective.

> While I in fact acknowledge that there is no way that a devout Jew can really understand Edith's willingness to embrace the Cross of Christ just as Edith's mother could not understand her child's Christian faith, all of us people of good will, be we Jewish or Christian, can acknowledge our common tie to the mystery of God's redemption that began with the covenant with Abraham, continued and was solidified in the exodus, and is with us today, whether we are still awaiting the promised messiah or believe that he has already come and is among us now. ("Politics and Mystery: The Integration of Judaism and Christianity in Edith Stein," *Spiritual Life*, Summer 1993, p. 104.)

It is indeed gratifying to see that in considering Edith Stein we can get beyond politics to the greater issues of living together as human beings.

Waltraut Stein
Decatur, Georgia
(The writer, a retired philosophy professor, is a grandniece of Edith Stein.)

David Novak replies:
I do not disagree with Peter J. Riga that the love of God transcends our religious affiliations in this world. That is why we all must do what we believe God wants us to do in response to that love, even if that means leaving one community and joining another. But that is because our response to that love in this world is not an individual matter; we cannot do it without a definite community. Because of our human nature, we are as much in need of other persons as we are in need of God. That is why Judaism and Christianity couple love of God with love of neighbor. At the level of community response to God's love, Judaism and Christianity make rival claims. Nevertheless, at the end-time, for which Jews and Christians now long separately, the communal context of human life will be so radically transformed that our present communal separation from each other will at last be overcome. To assume, though, that this separation can be overlooked here and now is

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pseudo-messianism.

To David Smolin: When I stated that Edith Stein is an apostate from Judaism sui generis, I did not mean to imply that other Jews have not converted to Christianity for similarly sincere religious motives. Why does Professor Smolin see implied anger in my treatment of Stein? I also noted the response of sadness. How could I as a Jew faithful to the covenant and the Jewish tradition not be sad when Jews such as Edith Stein, Jean-Marie Lustiger, or David Smolin decide to worship the Lord God of Israel outside the House of Israel? I am just as sad when Jews become atheists or whatever else outside the tradition—but in their case there is more hope they will return home, because they have not yet become part of some other tradition. And I agree that atheism is and should be more of a problem for the Jewish community than the very few Jews who are attracted to Christianity. As for Prof. Smolin's reference to his "Jewishness," that is a term beloved of Jewish secularists, who think you can have ethnic identity without faith. The fact is, it is Judaism that kept the Jewish ancestors of David Smolin Jewish enough to bring him into the world as one marked forever by the covenant.

I agree with Dr. Stein that both Jews and Christians are waiting for the final redemption by the Lord God of Israel. Nevertheless, in this pre-redeemed world our respective "waitings" are mutually exclusive, that is, one can wait either as a Jew or as a Christian but not as both. We Jews can certainly understand Edith Stein's decision to wait for God within the Church and not within Jewish tradition. We can even respect her spiritual integrity. What we cannot do is give her decision our blessing here and now, even though fully aware that the final judgment is God's, not our own.

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The Ethics of Healing

I do not find Russell E. Saltzman's essay "Two Boats, a Helicopter, and Stem Cells" (October 1999) entirely satisfying, although I have absolutely no quarrel with the argument developed for his own decision to oppose the use of aborted fetuses for stem cell research. His implied judgment on what should be the basis for public policy, however, does bother me a bit.

He concedes that "from a utilitarian view, the argument [he opposes] is unassailable." I think that public policy in a pluralistic system (which cannot be based on the mere belief of a citizen, since by definition it cannot give precedence to any belief) must be justified only on utilitarian grounds. (I take "utilitarian" in a very generic sense, not merely Benthamism.) Personally, for instance, I would contend that deliberately induced abortion is wrong and that that conclusion can be reached on the basis of "utilitarian" (i.e., natural law) analysis; my arguments, however, would not be so clear that no sincere person could reject them without being suspected of perversity. On the other hand, I find I cannot make any argument that research on stem cells garnered from spontaneously aborted fetuses is intrinsically wrong.

Now I recognize that spontaneously aborted fetuses are not abundant enough to meet the needs of everyone who wants them for research or therapy, so I acknowledge that in authorizing research at all there is a danger of encouraging induced abortions. However, this danger would be seen as a danger only by those who have concluded that induced abortions are wrong. So long as the prevailing view is that they are not necessarily wrong, public policy in a pluralistic system must be indifferent to any beliefs that cannot be independently supported by rational (utilitarian) argument. Again, I personally believe that public policy regarding induced abortions ought to change—but not because of what I believe but rather because the objective merits of purely rational arguments have prevailed upon a majority of public policy makers.

To manipulate public policy to conform with one's mere beliefs is a mistake. If "utilitarian" arguments cannot prevail, individuals should be content to have faith guide only their own moral decisions.

John Spradley
Pagosa Springs, Colorado

Russell E. Saltzman replies:

John Spradley seems to confuse his apples with both oranges and bananas. Utilitarianism in his versatile usage becomes a synonym for natural law in one place and a description of rational argument in another. I am at something of a loss for a reply.

What I do discern is his impression that I was expressing only a "mere belief" of my own. I hope my piece was more than that. If there is any public policy proposition that a pluralistic

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system must agree upon—for the protection of all its members—it is that human life must be immune from arbitrary violation by other humans. To the extent that stem cell research relies on embryos and aborted fetuses as an experimental source, it contributes to the rising sentiment that the death of one may be used for the convenience of others.

Aquinas Over Aristotle

Just as calls to Marxify Hegelianism invariably underestimate Marx's own advance on Hegel, so calls to Thomisticize Aristotle invariably underestimate Thomas' advance on Aristotle. From within this perspective, it seems to me that Gilbert Meilaender's biblical ethics ("Still Waiting for Benedict," October 1999) is closer to the thought of Thomas Aquinas than is Alasdair MacIntyre's "Thomistic" Aristotelianism.

It is my contention that St. Thomas' synthesis of biblical ethics and the metaphysics of being so transformed Aristotle that semi-Thomistic retrievals of Aristotle, such as MacIntyre's treatise on *Dependent Rational Animals*, are bound to regress behind Aquinas. Outside the metaphysics of being, there is finally no way to transcend MacIntyre's emblematic disjunction "*Aristotle or Nietzsche*," hard as MacIntyre, for one, has tried.

Decoded, that disjunction imposes an impossible choice, what with Nietzsche representing value irrationalism and a countervailing Aristotle representing a mixed-up amalgam of *eudaimonia* and often compromised virtue. If MacIntyre is captive to the terms of this disjunction, it is because, with Aristotle, he fails to distinguish adequately two branches of knowledge: eudaimonology, the object of which is human happiness and the means to attain it; and ethics, the object of which is human conduct in the light of reason as differentiating good from evil.

Gilbert Meilaender spots the key issue: "Morality is . . . not only a matter of developing the virtues needed to flourish but also a matter of recognizing obligations toward others who also bear the human countenance and are equal to us in dignity." Equality in dignity, in turn, supposes the notion of common being, without which there can be no common dignity.

John F. Maguire
Natural Law Jurisprudence Center
Berkeley, California

Editors' Note:

Due to a failure of communication, Robert Jenson's review of T. J. Clarke's *Farewell to an Idea* (October 1999) included a final sentence ("But whither this St. Benedict?") that was not approved by the author.

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THIS TIME

American Dreaming

James Nuechterlein

Americans have always thought of their country as other and better than anyplace else. The most obvious measure of comparative superiority was with Europe, the place where, through most of the nation's history, most people came from and against which they assessed their achievements. The protean notion of the American Dream celebrated the myriad ways in which America offered unprecedented opportunities for the heroic triumph of the individual.

From the earliest days of the nation, Americans argued that what set their society apart, what made it distinct from and superior to its European counterparts, was the opportunity it provided for the individual, regardless of origin, to achieve success, to realize his full potential. In Europe, so the argument went, people's economic, social, and political destinies were largely determined by and at birth. A rigid class structure made it extremely unlikely that individual effort and virtue could overcome the liability of lower-class origins. In America, by contrast, people were what they made of themselves. The national self-image portrayed an open society whose gradations were determined by ability alone. From immigrant slum to millionaire palace, from log cabin to White House: this was the American Dream in practice.

This idealistic dream always had a substantial material base. Concepts of equality, freedom, and individual dignity were significant in themselves, but they took on palpable meaning for most people in specific, often material, ways. If the promise of American life was the opportunity for the average person to strive for success, the ordinary best measure of success was tangible improvement in economic condition. Immigrants came to America for many reasons, but central to most of them was the hope of movement, if not from rags to riches, at least from rags to respectability. And liberal social critics regularly insisted that democracy had real meaning only when accompanied by opportunity for widespread participation in economic abundance.

Yet the emphasis on material achievement, essential to the idealistic fulfillment of the American Dream, has also always been the serpent in the garden of American civilization. Always there has been the fear that the material drive would overwhelm the idealistic vision, that prosperity was becoming not one proximate goal but the ultimate end of American life. Americans have, in their self-critical moments, regularly invoked the biblical judgment on those who gain the whole world but lose their own souls. Those radically disenchanted with the American Dream have maintained that in their thralldom to the bitch goddess success Americans have made of their dream a nightmare. All in all, the subtle and complex interplay between idealism and materialism, a relationship at once contradictory and complementary, has been central to the meaning of the American experience.

Among American thinkers, Benjamin Franklin is the most emblematic on this point, and he is the more to be attended to because he is widely regarded as the most characteristically American of all the major figures in our history. He has been called the perfect bourgeois, the patron saint of material success, the greatest man of his age, and the outstanding figure of the Enlightenment in America. Critics, on the other hand, have dubbed him the first Yankee, the father of all the Kiwanians, and the possessor of a cheap and shabby soul.

Franklin, as his country's first and archetypical public philosopher, was the most important figure in the eighteenth-century secularization of the American Dream. The Puritans of seventeenth-century New England saw their settlement as a City on a Hill, destined by God to serve as example to the nations of the pure and correct worship of God both in church and in society. A number of thinkers in the next century took this dream of moral regeneration in a virgin land and brought it down to earth: they substituted for the vision of the heavenly inheritance that of the secular celestial city.

As a public philosopher, Franklin was primarily concerned with the search for human happiness, and he supposed that, both for individual citizens and for society as a whole, this included in no small part the achievement of material success. So Franklin in his widely circulated writings, including his *Autobiography*, told Americans how to achieve prosperity and he blessed them in their endeavor. Tolerant of human frailty, inclined to take people as they were, he offered a utilitarian guide to the achievement of the bourgeois good life.

His idealism, such as it was, avoided flights of

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utopian fancy. Religion interested him mainly for its social benefits. Deciding early in life that Christianity probably was not true, he nonetheless supported its continuance as useful both in producing desired behavior and in providing spiritual solace. He did, it is true, once embark on an endeavor to achieve moral perfection, but a mere listing of the virtues whose mastery he considered necessary to his project suggests his essentially practical purposes: temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquility, chastity. (He later added humility when friends suggested that, for him, this might be appropriate.) Much is revealed by a marginal note in the *Autobiography*: "Nothing so likely to make a man's fortune as virtue."

Franklin never forgot that people act through self-interest. In his multifarious—and quite invaluable—schemes for public improvement he always attempted to gear public progress to private interest. For him, a stable, free, and progressive society required contented, hard-working, and optimistic citizens, and necessary to both goals was widespread prosperity.

Critics have long charged that the Franklinian virtues came at a terrible cost. Charles Angoff called Franklin the first Babbitt and insisted that he was "incapable of dreaming, of doubting, of being mystified." Similarly, D. H. Lawrence, attacking Franklin in particular and American civilization in general, argued that the bourgeois success ethic blinded Franklin and his fellow countrymen to any sense of tragedy or mystery, or to any true freedom and individuality. Anyone who has heard too many of Poor Richard's maxims or encountered some of the more self-satisfied sections of the *Autobiography* can sympathize with such criticism.

The argument between Franklin and his critics has persisted, in various forms, throughout American history. Material wealth in the form of widespread prosperity has continued to act as a central ingredient in national solidarity and collective self-justification for the middle American majority, as well as providing a highly useful solvent to national conflicts and tensions. In the form of materialism, that same wealth has been seen as engendering the philistinism and whoring after false gods that is so central—even obsessive—a theme among critics of American society.

Social critics have a way of losing sight of the unremarkable fact that ordinary people lead ordinary lives. Charles Angoff complained that Franklin's philosophy was spiritually inadequate compared to that of Jesus or Socrates. His observation was accurate enough, but not really apposite. Ben Franklin proposed something quite modest: a prudential and productive ethic for a mass middle-class society, which is essentially what America has always been. He was concerned not with the final ends of man but with proximate social goals. Nations are not spiritual entities, and the state is more properly involved in the things of Caesar than of Jesus or Socrates.

The workings of the American Dream have effected relative democratic equality and relative economic prosperity for a majority of citizens in the past—and will, we may reasonably hope, continue to do so in the new century. The nation's failures in these areas have been many and obvious, but those failures, like the successes, are most usefully addressed in political and economic terms, not moral or spiritual ones. As Prime Minister Harold Macmillan famously remarked some forty years ago, for the higher things people should consult their archbishops. FT

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What Can We Reasonably Hope For?

A Millennium Symposium

It is of course the case that only God knows what will happen in the next century and the next millennium. But we human beings are created with an irrepressible disposition toward the future, as well as a capacity to recall the past. In the last year we published a "millennium series" of articles remembering, century by century, where we have been. Now we ask a group of notable thinkers, all of whom are familiar to our readers, what they expect of the future. Writers were free to choose their own topics, and we trust our readers will agree that the result is a suggestive, and frequently provocative, contribution to the right ordering of expectations, hopes, and fears for the century and millennium now upon us.

—The Editors

Elliott Abrams

Europe is the cradle of American civilization and the source of our language and politics. Many of our greatest statesmen have played out their foreign policies there—from our war for independence to the world wars in this century. Even in the last year of the millennium, American troops were landing in Europe again.

But in the coming century, this will change. Engagements like Kosovo are sideshows, and the future of American world power will not be determined by wars in Europe. Russia's population is shrinking and its economy shows no signs of recovery, so its return to great power status is unlikely. Nor will world politics and our future depend on any likely events in Latin America or Africa, where no country is powerful enough to threaten our interests or become a world power. Wrenching though it will be for our traditional Eurocentrism, the great game is moving to Asia.

Consider the numbers first: China has 1.5 billion people and India 1 billion, and we should not overlook Indonesia at over 200 million, Pakistan at 150 million, and Bangladesh at 125 million. By 2050, India's population will probably rise to 1.5 billion, Bangladesh's will nearly double to 245 million, and Pakistan's will more than double—to roughly the same level as our own. Put another way, Asia will become the world's population center. It will be an increasingly powerful economic center as well, whatever the occasional setback, and it is clear from the amounts currently being spent on weaponry that India and China will increase their military influence, in the region and beyond.

The rise of Asia will present us with an ideological challenge as great as the economic and military challenges. The American notion that our own political system constitutes man's highest political achievement will come under assault. This challenge will come most strongly not from dictatorships such as China, but from variants of the Singaporean—or perhaps a future Chinese—system that put far greater emphasis on community, order, and duty than on individual rights and personal autonomy.

Once the Asian systems become reasonably democratic, the debate will not be over elementary human rights but over which model of social and political organization is "best." Since societies differ so much, that argument is not very useful in the abstract. It will, however, be a very good one for Americans to have in the twenty-first century, for it will force us to reconsider what the American system is and why we

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want to keep it. Too often in recent decades we have described it as a mixture of free markets and electoral institutions, a dry and lifeless formulation that would have surprised the Founders. They, like those in the Confucian tradition, understood that some conception of virtue—of what constitutes a life well led and a society well organized—must underlie our political institutions if they are to be sustained. The external debate over Asian vs. American "values" and political systems will enrich the discussion *within* this country. It will remind Americans of their own communal values, their own understanding of personal and civic virtue, and the Founders' now nearly forgotten conclusion that religion was the irreplaceable source of both. Meanwhile, the large numbers of Latin and Asian immigrants to the United States, and the related debates over issues such as bilingual education and affirmative action, will force us to consider once again what it means to be an American and what "American values" really are.

In the early decades of the century the time will be ripe for us to begin this discussion. It is now widely understood that our current approach to these matters has failed. Just as the call for greater personal responsibility within the welfare system became bipartisan, many similar moves—to reform the value-free atmosphere of the public schools, to permit more religion in the public square, to end the years of sexual license—will achieve wide acceptance. The social mores of the last third of the twentieth century will be understood as an aberration, a largely failed experiment.

The alternatives presented by the very different societies coming to power in Asia will be helpful correctives, but not acceptable models. The genius of the traditional American system will, I predict, be revealed when we see it in the context of those alternatives—for Americans if not for the world. The unique American balance between community and individual, between rights and responsibilities, between private life and patriotic duty, between wealth and charity, and between local and national government, will be clarified, and Americans' commitment to maintaining that balance strengthened. The view that the American way constitutes the only sound model for all mankind's future may lose ground, but Americans' understanding of and commitment to that way, and their pride in it, will grow. By the end of the twenty-first century it may even be as high as it was at the beginning of the twentieth.

Elliott Abrams *is President of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, located in Washington, D.C.*

Charlotte Allen

Predicting the future usually means extrapolating today's fashions into long-term trends. In the early 1970s I read an article prophesying that by the year 2000 (now!) there would be no more broccoli. The idea was that since frozen and powdered foods, the latest innovations in their field, had captured much of the market, fresh produce would soon disappear, except maybe for those those cube-shaped, agribusiness-developed tomatoes that were supposed to be on their way in.

Of course the author didn't foresee Dean & Deluca: that just twenty-five years later, humble low-tech vegetables, preferably dirt-farm organic and with names you've never heard of, like burdock root, would play a key role as turn-of-the-millennium status symbols, the consumption of which would separate snobs from slobs at high-end restaurants and upscale grocery chains. The giant food-processing megacorporations would turn out to have the problems, currently consolidating hurriedly in the face of static customer bases.

The lesson: whether you are a Long Boom optimist or a long-gloom pessimist, palm-reading the lifestyles of the future usually sets you up to be proved wrong. Right now the Silicon Valley is hot, so futurists are preaching that the next thousand years are going to be just like the Silicon Valley, only without the traffic and without disease, war, poverty, or death. Maybe—but don't count on it. "Life is a great surprise," wrote Vladimir Nabokov, and that goes for the next five years as well as the next five hundred.

It is possible, however, to make some very general predictions about the next millennium, not by projecting the fads of the present but by studying the patterns of the past. That is because those who do not understand history are condemned to repeat it, and hardly anyone understands history. One way to imagine what the long-term future will bring is to examine what one could have imagined the future would bring if one were living at the beginning of the second millennium in the year 1000, or the first millennium in the year One.

Let us look at the earlier period first. Two thousand years ago, most of the Western world lived under the political and cultural hegemony of a "lone remaining superpower" known as Rome. Over the preceding several centuries this upstart Italian city had extended its civic borders to encircle the Mediterranean and had demolished and absorbed the Hellenistic empire that Alexander the Great had cobbled together. Superbly trained and equipped

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Roman legions stationed everywhere ensured peace (except for border skirmishes) and allowed a maritime shipping trade to flourish on a scale that would not be surpassed until the nineteenth century. To its colonies, Rome offered a universal rule of law, a universal language (Latin), and the possibility of universal citizenship even for the foreign-born. The Romans did not have the microprocessor, but they did have a kind of functional equivalent: slaves, whose labors underlay the creation of immense wealth. Catering to the new prosperous class, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Livy turned out epic and lyric poetry and elegant prose to rival the finest literature of the Greeks.

The Roman Empire seemed destined to last forever. However, a shrewd observer of the first-century scene, perhaps a Roman general posted in Pannonia or Syria, might have noticed the beginnings of massive changes that would sweep away the entire edifice over the next few centuries. Those changes were not political but cultural and demographic. Our general would probably have not have noticed the harbinger of the most significant change of all: the little Jewish boy playing with wood-shavings in the obscure hamlet of Nazareth. A few decades later, though, he might have observed with alarm, as the emperor Nero certainly did, that increasing numbers of people, even in Rome, were worshiping this Jew as a god (and refusing to worship the emperor, or to respect the empire beyond a point), even though the supposed god had been executed as a felon after full and fair Roman justice.

Our sharp-eyed general would have noticed other things: that the Latin language, for example, although widespread and official, was in slow decline. Already in the early first century, the best years of classical Latin literature were over, and by the middle of the second century the empire's finest thinkers and stylists would be writing in Greek: Plutarch, Galen, the satirist Lucian. Even Marcus Aurelius, Edward Gibbon's ideal noble Roman, used Greek for his *Meditations*. Among the unlettered, spoken Latin was either dying out or imploding into the Romance languages.

There were also ever fewer Romans, culturally speaking. As early as Jesus' time, the imperial city was recruiting many of its fighting men from Asia, and they brought their customs and gods with them into Europe. Gradually, the empire's center of gravity moved geographically and ethnically eastward. By the time of the emperor Decius in the mid-third century, the imperial throne itself was a preserve of ethnic Balkans, and not long after that, the emperor Diocletian split the empire into east and west. Most tellingly of all, Rome never managed to extend its northeastern frontier much beyond the Danube, and it spent some five hundred years waging defensive warfare against the increasingly numerous German tribesmen on the other side. Our prescient Roman general might have foreseen that eventually his government would lose its fighting energy, and that the descendants of Julius Caesar's harriers would pour into every corner of Western Europe, pushed by even more aggressive nomads from farther east.

By the year 1000, the beginning of our own millennium, there was still an entity that called itself the "Roman Empire." There were two such entities, in fact: a glittering, polyglot theocracy on the Sea of Marmara, and a loosely organized Frankish kingdom in Northern Europe. Neither bore much resemblance to the Rome of old. In contrast to the confident imperial mood at the beginning of the first millennium, the mood at the beginning of the second millennium was generally one of exhaustion. Christianity itself seemed tired, its monasteries fat but spiritually moribund, its prelates beholden to secular rulers, and its eastern and western flanks so embittered by their cultural differences that in 1054 they acrimoniously split apart. The populations, economies, and cities of Western Europe were shadows of their former selves, beaten down by centuries of invasions, most recently from the most belligerent of the Germans, the Vikings. Some thought the world was about to end.

And yet, during the very year 1000, something happened that turned out to set the course of the entire millennium in a new direction: one of the Vikings, Leif Ericsson, who had decided to convert to Christianity a few months before, discovered America. Fifty years later, Leif's distant kinsman Thorfinn, the last of the Norse pirate chiefs, retired his longboat and made a pilgrimage to Rome; that was the end of Viking raids.

In the year 1016, the Benedictine abbey at Cluny in France declared itself independent of outside supervision and spearheaded a rolling reform of the monasteries that swept through Europe. Cluniac monks in turn supported Pope Gregory VII's singleminded and ultimately successful efforts to free the Church from secular control later in the century (see Robert Louis Wilken, "Gregory VII and the Politics of the Spirit," FT, January 1999). The monasteries had always been centers of learning, and they now became powerhouses of creative invention. Such medieval innovations as the horse-drawn plow and the water mill (which greatly enhanced farm productivity), the glass lens, the clock, the flying buttress, and double-entry bookkeeping marked the beginnings of the long wave of technological, scientific, and commercial development that, for good or ill, is the very signature of the second

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millennium in the West.

A very prescient monk at Cluny in the year 1000 would not have foreseen exactly how things would turn out today—he could not have predicted the Internet—but he might well have suspected that the renewed spiritual energy at his own monastery would flow infectiously outward. In fact, the eleventh century proved to be one of the West's most energetic; it was the time of El Cid, the earliest Crusades, the Norman Conquest, and the beginning of a new synthesis of classical and Germanic civilizations.

All this says something about what it may be like in the year 3000, if the Last Days don't overtake us first. Our own country, like Rome, is the richest and most powerful on earth, but it is also in the throes of sweeping demographic changes, as Rome was at the beginning of the first millennium. America's language, English, is in universal use, but it is also in a state of grammatical decomposition and literary decline. A thousand years from now, there may still be an entity that calls itself "the United States," just as there was a Rome in the year 1000, but don't expect it to be much like today's U.S.A. At the same time, there is currently a crisis of cultural self-confidence in the West that resembles the malaise of a thousand years ago. The combination of new people (waves of immigrants from south and east) and a fading sense of common values seems to spell disaster, and there will undoubtedly be upheavals aplenty in the future as there have been in the past.

But if history teaches us anything, a vibrant new civilizational synthesis may also be just around the corner. Furthermore, we can take comfort from the things that have survived for 2,000 years and are likely still to be around when another thousand have passed: wine and song; dogs and ball games; parties and horoscopes; sandals and earrings; the Greek and Latin classics; lovely young ladies and obnoxious aunts; courage and hope and fear of death; the love of parents for their children.

And faith. As the third millennium begins we seem to be on the verge of a great religious revival, and we should remember that it was a new spiritual beginning that set in motion those momentous changes the last two times around.

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Andrew J. Bacevich

The dawn of the new millennium finds the United States flirting once again with its old Wilsonian Temptation. When Woodrow Wilson set out to "make the world safe for democracy," he acted with the certainty that Providence had chosen this nation as its agent of global salvation. This was America's calling and its duty. If we take seriously the rhetoric issuing from the nation's foreign policy establishment, that remains America's duty today.

Wilson failed, his diplomacy subverted by Clemenceau and Lloyd George and his vision trumped, in the eyes of some, by Lenin's own promise of utopia. But ever since, the conviction has persisted that Wilson erred chiefly in being premature. Rippling through the undercurrents of American politics, this conviction periodically resurfaces, shimmering with expectation. The passing of the Cold War has opened the way for the latest such reappearance.

Embarking upon his "war to end all wars," President Wilson promised that the outcome would "bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free." With far less eloquence and little of his moral fervor, Wilson's successors in the aftermath of the Cold War have embarked upon an analogous quest.

Analogous, but not identical. The melody remains, but the lyrics have changed. For Wilson, politics—above all the creation of a League of Nations—was paramount. His latter-day disciples place economic considerations at the forefront. The new name of the game is globalization. America will export not its political principles—at least not immediately—but its economic precepts and its lifestyle. "Opening" the world to trade, investment, technology, and popular culture will make possible the creation of wealth on a scale hitherto unimaginable. In the wake of abundance will come democracy, peace, and unprecedented opportunities for human fulfillment.

Although paying ritual obeisance to the successor to Wilson's League, U.S. officials know that the real action has long since moved elsewhere. It's not the United Nations that counts, but the World Trade Organization, along with Wall Street, Silicon Valley, Hollywood—and Washington.

Indeed, the Wilsonian Temptation is enjoying its latest revival not because present-day American leaders identify with the twenty-eighth President himself—for starters, his no-nonsense Presbyterianism clashes with the frothy religiosity of contemporary politics—but because the statement of American purpose that Wilson first formulated has since become irreplaceable. Wilson's enduring achievement was to reconcile the nation's origins as an anti-imperial republic with its aspirations to global pre-

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eminence. To justify U.S. entry into a war that he abhorred, Wilson gave voice to the ultimate expression of American exceptionalism. Unlike the empires it was soon to supersede, the United States acted not in pursuit of selfish interests but on behalf of universal principles (indistinguishable, according to Wilson, from American principles) and in pursuit of common international interests (an extension, in Wilson's view, of America's own interests). So it was in 1917 and so it has once again become today.

A major question of the new millennium's first century is whether the neo-Wilsonian prophets of globalization will come any closer to achieving their goals than did Wilson himself.

In one sense, the conditions appear to be more favorable. In terms of ideological competitors, American-style democratic capitalism has swept the field. And although Jacques Chirac, Tony Blair, and others among the current crop of statesmen are no more given to flights of altruism than were their World War I predecessors, the people they govern have long since lost their stomach for power politics. The nations that once vied with the United States for dominance now receive the honorific title "Great Power" only as a courtesy.

But in another sense, the conditions are less favorable. Woodrow Wilson's America understood that no achievement comes without cost. "Peace without victory" did not imply peace without sacrifice. In the Republic of Good Times that is Bill Clinton's America, concepts like self-sacrifice or self-denial appear increasingly antiquated. Indeed, the allure of globalization lies in the expectation that Americans can in the long run do good while in the short term doing very well for themselves. Popular willingness to enlist in this variant of a Wilsonian crusade derives from the promise of gain without pain.

But the paramount lesson of the post-Cold War era's first decade—made manifest in the Persian Gulf, "Kurdistan," Bosnia, Haiti, Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Congo, Afghanistan, Russia's "near abroad," Kosovo, and East Timor—is that the process of globalization won't advance on autopilot. The second lesson, displayed in the U.S. response to many of those same crises, is that when it comes to enforcing the ground rules of an "open world," the American people balk. They are willing to expend little treasure and less blood.

In short, a yawning gap separates the grand designs of the political class from the willingness of citizens to foot the bill. The story of U.S. foreign policy in the 1990s has been the story of searching for ways to paper over that gap, with cruise missiles, high-altitude bombing, and spurious peacekeeping missions as the preferred instruments. How long the United States can conceal this disparity between national aims and popular will looms as one of the larger questions of the century now beginning.

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Stephen M. Barr

A person living in the year 1000 could scarcely have imagined how much we would now understand about the physical world. So forecasting the next millennium in science is certainly rather foolhardy. Looking a century ahead is less unreasonable. After all, some of the most revolutionary insights in what is still taught as "modern physics" are now almost a century old: Planck's discovery of the quantum in 1900, and Einstein's of relativity in 1905. Of course, a truly new idea cannot be forecast, but we can at least say what the big questions are now that have some relevance to religion, and whether the answers to them are likely to come in the next century. Here is my list of the top ten questions in science.

1) What are the ultimate laws of physics? 2) Are those laws deterministic? 3) What is the correct physical description of what happened at the Big Bang? Was it the beginning of time? And, if not, did time have a beginning? 4) Is the universe infinite in size? And are there an infinite number of planets? 5) How did life begin? 6) How did evolution happen? Is natural selection enough to account for it? 7) Did life begin elsewhere, and are there other intelligent creatures in the universe? 8) How does the human brain work in detail? 9) What is consciousness, and how does it fit into our theories of the physical world? 10) What are the limits of computers, and can the human mind be completely explained in computational terms?

Every one of these questions is far harder than any scientific question that has ever been answered before. For most of them, a solution by *direct* observation or experiment is out of the question. We can never directly observe what (if anything) existed before the Big Bang. We can never directly see the entire universe and thus verify that it is finite (if it is) since relativity theory does not permit us to. There are no fossils of the first living things or the prebiotic entities from which they are presumed to have sprung. It is unlikely that we will ever completely map out the neural circuitry of a human brain because of

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the number of nerve cells and connections involved. And as far as consciousness and free will are concerned, scientists and philosophers seem divided between those who think that there is nothing to explain and those who think that the explanations are too hard for us ever to understand. Except for the first, perhaps, I see no grounds for confidence that any of the questions on this list will be answered definitively by the year 2100.

The three questions in this list of greatest theological importance (because they intersect with dogma) are the determinism of physical law, the beginning of time, and the nature of the human mind. While science may never be able to give definitive answers to these three questions, one can make educated guesses.

Determinism was overthrown by quantum mechanics in the 1920s, so the question here is really whether determinism will make a comeback. There does exist a way to reinterpret the mathematical formalism of quantum mechanics deterministically—it is called the "many worlds interpretation." However, there are certain serious technical objections to this interpretation; and even if it can be shown to be technically viable, it is thought to be impossible, even in principle, to verify whether it is correct. Another possibility is that quantum theory itself will be overthrown. But if the superstring theorists are right, then the fundamental principles of quantum theory are probably here to stay. The bogey of physical determinism is thus likely gone for good.

As far as the beginning of time is concerned, there are certainly interesting speculations according to which something existed before the Big Bang. However, it is very hard to imagine at present how these ideas could ever be tested. And even if one of them were found to be right, it is hard to see how it could be settled whether or not time had a beginning at some point earlier than the Big Bang. But since the idea of a universe without temporal beginning does not seem to sit very well with the Second Law of Thermodynamics, I would guess that cosmological theory at the end of the next century will not prefer an eternal universe.

Finally, in spite of the unfounded optimism of the proponents of "strong Artificial Intelligence," there are compelling reasons to disbelieve the computational theory of the mind. And so, while I would expect dramatic advances in what computers can do, I do not expect that machines will be built which can understand abstract concepts or exercise the other powers that philosophers traditionally attributed to the "active intellect" in man.

This brings us to some broader reflections. What gave birth to science and remains its motive force is a belief in the power of human reason. But this belief can be grounded only in a transcendent view of man and thus, ultimately, in religion. The early modern era lost sight of this fact, in part because the attempt of the Church to repress error was seen as an attempt to repress man himself and his intellect. Thus, for many, the scientific spirit came to be defined in opposition to faith. This hostility to religion on the part of some scientists, however, really involves an inner contradiction that is now coming to the surface.

As a human enterprise, science magnifies man. It displays in an unparalleled way the tremendous power of human reason. And yet, as a horizon of thought, physical science is extremely narrow. It deals with matter in motion, with what can be measured, and weighed, and clocked. It is all too tempting for the scientist to try to fit the human being within that horizon. But what is left when that is done? One is left with the human mind as "nothing but a pack of neurons," in the words of Sir Francis Crick, and nothing but a "machine made of meat," in the words of Marvin Minsky. One is left with human concepts, even the very mathematical concepts out of which science itself is built, as "neurological creations," in the words of cognitive scientist Stanislas Dehaene. The scientist who succumbs to materialism is conflicted in his view of man. Like Hamlet he says, "How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! . . . In apprehension, how like a god! . . . And yet, to me what is this quintessence of dust?"

As the present Pope has emphasized, revelation is not only about God; it also contains "the truth about man." God reveals man to himself. Man is revealed to be a rational being, made in the image of God. Pope John Paul II has stated that human freedom is rooted ultimately in this truth about man. Science, too, is rooted in it. And that is why the battle of the next century will not be between science and religion, but within science and for its soul. By proclaiming the truth about man, religion will be found to be not an enemy of reason, which of course it never was, but perhaps its last defender.

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Robert H. Bork

Isaiah Berlin observed that "not one among the most perceptive social thinkers of the nineteenth

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century had ever predicted . . . the great ideological storms [of the twentieth century] that have altered the lives of virtually all mankind." With that in mind, the one thing we may confidently predict for the next millennium is that our forecasts will have little relation to reality. Nevertheless . . .

Major changes in a civilization may be foreshadowed when words that once had power and weight become empty formulas rather than expressing vital, living principles. During the 1998 campaign on the Michigan referendum on legalizing assisted suicide, for example, opponents discovered, to their considerable surprise, that the phrase "the sanctity of human life" had absolutely no resonance with the public. What did give the opposition traction, and led to the defeat of the measure, was the example of the Netherlands, where assisted suicide gradually became euthanasia and then unconsented killing. People could imagine themselves as victims. The "sanctity of human life" had shriveled to the sanctity of one's own life.

So it is today with the phrase "rule of law." Born in Europe, exported to America, and fundamental to Western Civilization, the concept no longer commands much more than verbal allegiance. It would be possible to multiply examples, but the fact became obtrusive during the impeachment of Bill Clinton. It was indisputable that Clinton had committed perjury and obstructed justice, but his supporters and most of the public decried the proceedings as "just about sex," which is apparently no longer morally serious. Perjury and obstruction of justice themselves were only as serious as what was being covered up. This means that law as such no longer has independent moral force or weight of its own.

That truth is worth reflection. Aside from the fact that justice is now defined on an ad hoc basis, there is the ominous reality that the rule of law is central to the practice of democracy. Rule by the people means that voters choose legislators according to the policies the candidates offer, that elected representatives will enact rules, and that judges and juries will apply those rules impartially and as intended. Unless that is true, public debate, elections, and legislative deliberation have little significance. Disconnected from governance, politics will become entertainment, and those who vote are likely to cast their ballots on the basis of celebrity. (Which leads to the somber thought that the Reform Party may be the model for the future.) Perhaps a highly complex and dynamic society, one that continually introduces more complicated issues than our institutions can cope with satisfactorily, cannot adhere to older notions of the rule of law and self-government.

But it is a matter for concern: when law is personalized and politicized, its force and impact are controlled by public relations and private moralities, not by majority preference. We have been on this course for some time, as shown by judicial rule without recourse to law, jury nullification of law, and, perhaps especially, bureaucracies that lay down most of the law that governs us with, at best, minimal accountability to either the people or their elected representatives and without concern for consistency. These developments could not occur without the inertia and weariness of the public, even their willingness to abandon the long-term safeguards and benefits of process for the short-term gratification of desires.

There surely has always been an element of this in our use of law, but that element seems to be expanding rapidly. If it is, the "rule of law" and "democracy" in the next millennium will be radically different from the idealized versions of them that most of us carry in our heads. Ruleless "law" will be a political weapon and control of the judiciary will therefore be a political prize. "Democracy" will consist of the chaotic struggle to influence decision makers who are not responsive to elections.

This is not a forecast of doom but merely of a continuing transformation of law and government, a journey to a new polity and society whose details we cannot even begin to imagine today. It may be tolerable, as many societies have been without the rule of law or democratic self-government. The future being uncertain, however, it will be the part of wisdom to resist the changes we see.

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William A. Dembski

In a memorable scene from the movie *The Graduate*, Dustin Hoffman's parents throw him a party to celebrate his graduation from college. The parents' friends are all there congratulating him and offering advice. What should Hoffman do with his life? One particularly solicitous guest is eager to set him straight. He takes Hoffman aside and utters a single word—*plastics*!

In participating in this symposium, I feel like

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that guest. On the relation between religion and science in the coming millennium, I offer one word—*information*! Information is the primary stuff of the coming age. With the rise of the computer, we have come to appreciate the importance of information for technology, communications, and commerce. But already we are getting glimmers that information is something far more fundamental.

Mathematician Keith Devlin, for instance, ponders whether information should be regarded as "a basic property of the universe, alongside matter and energy (and being ultimately interconvertible with them)." Origin-of-life researchers like Manfred Eigen increasingly see the problem of the origin of life as a problem of generating information. Physicist Paul Davies sees information as poised to replace matter as the "primary stuff," and with this replacement envisions a resolution of the mind-body problem. As he puts it, "If matter turns out to be a form of organized information, then consciousness may not be so mysterious after all."

Although the information revolution is now in full swing on the technological front, it has lagged behind in the sciences. In part this is because information theory as originally developed in the 1940s was a purely mathematical theory that focused exclusively on the transmission of alphanumeric characters across communication channels. This limited conception of information is now being extended and generalized in ways that someday will allow us to fundamentally rethink the sciences.

Consider physics, for instance. Physics since Newton has sought to understand the physical world by positing certain fundamental entities (particles, fields, strings), specifying the general form of the equations to characterize those entities, prescribing initial and boundary conditions for those equations, and then solving them. Often, these are equations of motion that on the basis of past states predict future states. Within this classical conception of physics, the ultimate accomplishment is to formulate a "theory of everything"—a set of equations that characterize the constitution and dynamics of the universe at all levels of analysis.

But with information as its fundamental entity, this conception of physics gives way. No longer is the physical world to be understood by identifying an underlying structure that has to obey certain equations no matter what. Instead, the world consists of various systems that convey information, and the job of physical theory is to extract as much information from those systems as possible. Thus, rather than see the physicist as Procrustes, forcing nature to conform to mathematics, this informational approach turns him into an inquirer who asks nature questions, obtains answers, but must always remain open to the possibility that nature has more information to divulge.

Nothing of substance is lost with this informational approach to physics. As Roy Frieden has shown, the full range of physics as developed to date can be embedded within this informational approach (see his *Physics from Fisher Information: A Unification*, Cambridge University Press, 1998). The one thing that does give way, however, is the idea that physics is a bottom-up affair in which knowledge of a system's parts determines knowledge of the system as a whole. Within the informational approach, the whole is truly greater than the sum of its parts, for the whole can communicate information that none of the parts can individually.

A universe with information as its primary stuff is radically open, and the physics describing it places no limits on what a physical system can in principle communicate. Physics without information as its primary unifying principle, on the other hand, always attempts to put reality back together from the bottom up. And while rebuilding the whole from its parts can admit a certain degree of novelty and unexpectedness, the information revealed will in the end (as in complex systems theory) still be determined by its parts.

Why are these considerations important to religion and faith? A world in which information is not primary is a world seriously hampered in what it can reveal. We've seen this with the rise of modern science—the world it gave us reveals nothing about God except that God is a lawgiver. But if information is the primary stuff, then there are no limits whatsoever on what the world can in principle reveal. In such a world, a man called Jesus can reveal the fullness of God, and bread and wine can reveal the fullness of this Jesus' life and death. A world in which information is the primary stuff is a sacramental world; a world that mirrors the divine life and grace; a world that is truly our home.

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Francis Cardinal George

For most of this violent century, realism has been the dominant paradigm for theorists and practi-

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tioners of international relations in the United States. There are varieties of realism, of course. Classical realists such as Hans Morgenthau explain perpetual international competition and conflict by highlighting our selfish human nature, while neorealists such as Kenneth Waltz insist that all regimes behave similarly because they are similarly constrained by the "anarchic" structure of the post-Westphalian international system of sovereign states. The neorealist attempt to abstract from human nature begs several questions, one of which is "Why is the lack of certainty with regard to other states' intentions a problem in the first place?" As realist explanations go, perhaps Hobbes'—which includes both human agents and structure—is the most analytically complete.

But differences in causal emphasis notwithstanding, most realists agree on the inevitability of the hallmarks of international politics: fear, attention to relative capabilities, the security dilemma, balancing through arming and alliances, costly arms races (and the supporting arms market), and war. Fortunately, most realists—contra Machiavelli—also agree that the challenges posed by human nature and freedom do not eliminate normative constraints upon the use of force, including forbidding the targeting of civilians. Instead, responsible realists have prescribed a combination of prudent balancing against capabilities in order to deter, and have argued for the just use of force when deterrence fails.

In his 1993 *Foreign Affairs* article "The Clash of Civilizations?" and later in his 1996 book, Samuel P. Huntington seems to argue from realist premises—with a civilizational twist—in predicting the international future and prescribing security measures. Huntington asserts that the perceived security and cultural threats posed by the developed and liberal democratic states of the West will be opposed by the collective will of modernizing and increasingly identity-conscious non-Western states, particularly those of Sinic and Islamic civilizations.

History is not ending. Instead, because of ideas—especially religious beliefs—and culture, the realist clash of states will be replaced with the multipolar clash of civilizations. For the West, Huntington adds, the very culture that threatens others also makes it vulnerable: consumerism and multiculturalism erode the strength and unity necessary for this coming clash. His conclusions follow logically enough from these premises. Since "what happens within a civilization is as crucial to its ability to resist destruction from external sources as it is to holding off decay from within," Western security in this emerging world order will depend upon its collective ability to reverse cultural decay and incoherence. Huntington also recommends noninterventionist policies toward conflicts within other civilizations and core state mediation to prevent escalating conflicts along "fault lines" between civilizations.

While this argument is not devoid of theoretical and empirical weaknesses (e.g., interstate conflicts within civilizations still loom large, perceptions of the West among non-Westerners are more complex than Huntington allows, and the power of the West relative to other civilizations may not be declining), I wish to highlight one of its theoretical strengths. Although subscribing to realism in asserting that uncertainty about intentions will produce fear *between* civilizations, Huntington asserts that comfort with intentions can occur *within* civilizations. In his words, "Publics and statesmen are less likely to see threats emerging from people they feel they understand and can trust because of shared language, religion, values, institutions, and culture." In other words, as liberal peace and critical theorists have been asserting for years, ideas shape human nature and intentions, and these intentions can be known.

The weakness of Huntington's idealism lies in his overly simplistic depiction of how ideas can mitigate the security dilemma. More important than the mere sharing of ideas is the quality of the ideas shared. Two societies that universalize the notion of rights ought to be more comfortable with one another than two that simply share a commitment to forceful self-aggrandizement.

Weaknesses and oversimplifications notwithstanding, Huntington's paradigm—a combination of realist and idealist elements—has merit, and illuminates an important international role for the Church in the coming decades. Although factions within Islamic societies may overstate the security threat posed by the West, they are rightly concerned with the effects of modernity and postmodernity on their premodern, faith-oriented cultures. But as the Church's often difficult relationship with the Enlightenment has helped us to see, not all modern ideas are inconsistent with faith and human fulfillment—or security.

In the coming decades, the dialogue between Christianity and Islam can be a powerful influence on how Muslims perceive modernity and the West's intentions. Such a dialogue can assure the Muslim world that science and authentic liberalism are neither totally grounded in nor necessarily conducive to secularism, relativism, and individualism, and that liberal societies' human rights foundations promote peace among them. At the same time, this dialogue can also assure Islam that Christians are well aware

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of modern societies' cultural shortcomings and that the Church is working to convert these cultures—an effort that Pope John Paul II has called "the evangelization of culture." Christians should welcome Muslim cooperation in addressing the moral failures of modernity.

At the end of his book, Huntington offers a final peace-promoting recommendation to the West: "Renounce universalism, accept [global] diversity, and seek commonalities" that constitute the "thin minimalist morality" of "Civilization." But as mentioned earlier, common ground is not as important as *true* ground. Cultures share truths because civilizations are products of a human nature created and graced by the one God. Cultures also deviate from the truth—in ways both universal and homegrown—because of the same human nature, created free and prone to pride. As an evangelizing Church makes publicly available the truth that is Jesus Christ, she is in a unique position in this next century and millennium to offer Christ's gifts to all cultures and to create not just a common civilization but a globalization of solidarity—perhaps even what Pope Paul VI did not hesitate to call a civilization of love.

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Robert P. George

Anyone gazing into a crystal ball with the aim of divining the future of relations among members of different religious communities in the new millennium would do well to remember how things appeared as recently as 1965. In the euphoria occasioned by the Second Vatican Council, observers looked forward to a flowering of ecumenism and perhaps even the reunification of the Christian Church. Official interfaith commissions were formed to reexamine issues that had historically divided Eastern and Western Christians, Protestants and Catholics, Christians and Jews. Denominational leaders sought opportunities for interfaith cooperation, and theologians explored possible compromises and new understandings to overcome differences in areas of doctrine, discipline, and authority.

One thing seemed certain: the ecumenical action would be on the left wing of the various religious communities, not on the right. Traditional Catholics, conservative Protestants, and observant Jews were viewed as part of the problem, not part of the ecumenical solution. After all, interfaith dialogue would require "flexibility," "openness," "tolerance"—virtues of the religious and sociopolitical left (it was supposed), not the right. Indeed, the "rigidity," "dogmatism," and "authoritarianism" of conservative religious believers would (it was thought) make them obstacles to the dialogical enterprise. Ecumenism would have to proceed despite anticipated conservative resistance.

Then came the culture war.

The massive assault of the secularist left—largely acquiesced in and very often abetted by the religious left—on traditional Judeo-Christian moral beliefs about sexuality, marriage and family, and the sanctity of human life brought conservative elements of the various religious communities together in the pro-life/pro-family movement. In the beginning, the pan-orthodox alliance was understood by religious conservatives themselves as a sort of marriage of convenience. And even today there are religious conservatives—including some who are active in the movement—who view it that way. (Perhaps it goes without saying that liberal critics of the pan-orthodox alliance are certain that the alliance can never be anything other than a marriage of convenience.)

What is remarkable, and what was in 1965 surely unpredictable, however, is that at century's end an alliance that began as a marriage of convenience in the moral-political sphere would, without anybody planning or even foreseeing it, blossom into a genuine—and profound—spiritual engagement. As things have turned out, the serious ecumenical action is almost entirely on the religious right—and we have the cultural depredations of the left to thank for it. God really does have a sense of irony, if not humor!

Today, traditional Catholics, Eastern Orthodox Christians, evangelical and other conservative Protestants, and believing Jews are not only working, but praying, together. Interfaith cooperation in pursuit of operational objectives in the culture war (e.g., banning partial-birth abortion, preserving the institution of marriage) has occasioned the emergence of genuine, and unprecedented, spiritual fellowship.

The ecumenism of the pan-orthodox alliance is what Baptist theologian Timothy George calls "an ecumenism of the trenches." It unites Protestants and Catholics, Christians and Jews, who have in common very practical worries about what Dr. Ruth has in mind for their children and what Dr. Kevorkian has in store for their parents. It brings together people from different communities of faith who listen to Dr. Dobson for advice about parenting and to Dr. Laura for reassurance that they aren't crazy.

Occasionally, pan-orthodox ecumenism takes the

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form of theologians and denominational officials sitting down to hammer out joint statements about "justification" or other doctrinal matters. More often, though, it happens when people of different religious traditions find themselves praying together in front of abortion clinics, marching together for life, and working together to assist pregnant women in need.

Although it sometimes takes the form of interfaith worship, it more commonly manifests itself in informal shared prayer, counseling, and mutual spiritual support among people who got to know each other not necessarily in church or synagogue, but at a school board meeting where they had come together to protect their children against, say, indoctrination into the mystery cult of secular sex education.

To focus on the "grass roots" ecumenism of the pan-orthodox alliance is not to suggest that it lacks an intellectual core or that it swings free of the judgments and actions of religious authorities in the various traditions. Andrew Sullivan may or may not be correct to say that FIRST THINGS is the "spiritual nerve center of the new conservatism," but it is surely the intellectual nerve center of pan-orthodoxy. The influential initiative known as "Evangelicals and Catholics Together" is the most prominent of many programs of the Institute on Religion and Public Life (which publishes FIRST THINGS) aimed at deepening ecumenical engagement. And religious officials from the Pope and Catholic leaders such as Richard John Neuhaus, to national evangelical leaders such as Chuck Colson and Bill Bright, to notable rabbis such as David Novak, Marc Gellman, and Daniel Lapin are doing their parts to encourage the pan-orthodox movement and consolidate (and, where possible, formalize) its ecumenical achievements.

The ecumenism growing out of the pan-orthodox alliance is the real thing—it is ecumenism that takes religious faith, and therefore religious differences, seriously. It neither ignores nor trivializes (much less relativizes) the important points of doctrine, discipline, and authority that divide Protestants and Catholics, Christians and Jews. It proceeds not by pretending that all religions are equally true or that doctrinal differences don't matter, but rather by respectful engagement of theological disagreements.

But this creates a puzzle. How can there be genuine spiritual fellowship between people who sincerely consider each other to be in error on profoundly important religious questions? Protestants and Catholics differ over issues of sacraments, priesthood, papal authority, the Marian dogmas; Jews and Christians disagree about whether Jesus of Nazareth is the messiah promised to the Jews, the eternally begotten son of the heavenly Father, the second person of the triune God.

The spiritual fellowship of the pan-orthodox alliance has been made possible by the promotion of interfaith understanding. The experience of the past three decades reveals that the misperceptions and mistrust that long impeded pan-orthodox fellowship in the days before the culture war were rooted in misunderstanding of the scope and content of religious differences. By largely eradicating misperceptions and overcoming mistrust, the pan-orthodox movement has been transformed from a mere marriage of political convenience. Without ignoring their differences, orthodox Protestants and Catholics, Christians and Jews, have, in other words, come to understand and appreciate that what they have in common goes far beyond a common morality. They share a larger set of beliefs—a worldview—that includes much that is common in theology, anthropology, sacred history, and religious practice.

Protestants need not accept Marian doctrines to understand that Catholics are truly Christians and not "worshipers" of Mary. Catholics do not compromise such doctrines when they understand Protestants who decline to accept them as Christian brothers. Christians do not abandon their belief in the divinity of Christ when they join Pope John Paul II in recognizing Jews as "elder brothers in faith." Nor do even the most traditional Jews turn from the Torah when they acknowledge Christians as worshipers of the one true God rather than as pagans and idolaters.

What about the future of the pan-orthodox alliance?

Because it is built on a strong base of shared understanding and common worldview, I am confident that it will flourish in the twenty-first century. I have no doubt of its capacity to survive defeats, should they come, in the moral-political struggle. I am even hopeful of its capacity to survive victories—though that, of course, is the far greater challenge.

Will there be bumps along the way? Of course there will be. The "Evangelicals and Catholics Together" initiative has been vigorously opposed by some conservative Protestants and received only tepidly by some traditional Catholics. A lack of agreement on moral issues such as capital punishment and contraception could prove divisive. Catholics and Southern Baptists may continue to squabble about whether the United States should send an ambassador to the Vatican. Many Jews are offended by Baptist and other evangelical ministries directed to their conversion. Some Jews think that Catholic apologies for past anti-Semitism aren't sufficient; some Christians think that Jewish accounts of the

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intellectual origins of the Holocaust often overlook the pagan and anti-Christian sources of Nazism.

If the pan-orthodox alliance is to flourish, there are certain developments that must occur. The process of healing the racial divide within American Christianity must begin in earnest. Grass roots spiritual engagement must bring about the fellowship of black and white believers. Of course, this is mainly, though not exclusively, an issue for the black and white evangelical communities, though Jews and Catholics have, as John DiIulio observes, an important supporting role to play in facilitating reconciliation. And believers from the black churches must be welcomed into, and must be willing to join in, the pro-life/pro-family movement at every level—including its leadership. There are black evangelical leaders such as Boston's Rev. Eugene Rivers who are certainly able, and appear to be willing, to step into the breach.

In the area of Jewish-Christian relations, important intellectual work must be high on the agenda. Christian thinkers following the lead of the Pope must press more deeply to understand the Jewish core of Christian faith and the continuing religious significance of living Judaism. Jewish scholars must similarly work to achieve a theology that respects and makes sense of the Christianity that spread God's Torah throughout the world.

Perhaps none of this will happen. It is possible that yet again the problem of interfaith relations will deceive the crystal ball. Whether unanticipated, even unimaginable, events will derail the pan-orthodox alliance, God alone knows. But for those of us who, from our various traditions of faith, seek to do His will, there is every reason to hope that He will continue to bless our cooperation.

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Paul J. Griffiths

To be human is to acquire and maintain a habit of being. Such acquisition and maintenance requires, in turn, institutional forms. And at the end of the second millennium there are, worldwide, only three institutional forms through which enough power flows to provide translocal habits of being: nation-states, corporations, and churches. A millennium ago, as the water clocks and the candles marked the turn of the era, two of these (nation-states and corporations) were either altogether absent or utterly insignificant. The churches, though, were then very much present and in most ways dominant; they were the principal donors of habits of being.

But as the silicon-controlled computer clocks mark the beginning of Y2K, things are different. The churches, all of them, are at the margins. The world's intellectual life goes on without them, in universities resting comfortably in the arms of the corporations and nation-states that fund them; and its political life goes on without them, formed by the demands of the market and the calculations of realpolitik. Concomitantly and inevitably, the forces giving us our habits of being are now primarily economic and secondarily political: we have become consumers who occasionally think of ourselves as citizens. Any tattered remnants of religious habits of being are now subservient to (indeed, usually understood precisely in terms of) habits of consumption.

This means that nation-states and corporations are now the principal determinants of everyone's character and action. The Church (speaking now of the Catholic Church) has always understood the deep importance of institutional forms that carry culture translocally; it is, after all, itself one of them. It should, then, care deeply about the situation we're in, and should be reading the signs of the times with close and prayerful attention, attending with the wisdom of a serpent and the innocence of a dove in an effort to see where things are moving and how to shape them into conformity with the alien designs of God.

The first sign of the times is that the influence and significance of nation-states is declining while that of corporations is advancing. Many transnational corporations now have larger budgets than all but the largest of nations; and some, like the Korean conglomerate Daewoo, have larger loads of debt than all but the most heavily laden nations. National politics is, to an increasing extent, subject to the needs and demands of corporations without national identity or loyalty. Nation-states are dissolving themselves into economically motivated transnational groups, as in the case of the European Union.

As the third millennium continues, our habits of being will increasingly be formed principally by corporate forces, not national ones. Nation-states will become parasites upon corporations, subservient to the flow of capital and to the institutional forms produced by that flow. And we will come to understand ourselves primarily not as Americans or Japanese or Indonesians (much less as Christians or Buddhists or Muslims—that option is scarcely available now), but as consumers of the products of the Microsoft Corporation, or General Motors, or Sony.

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This is not a comfortable development for the churches. No church—and certainly not the Catholic Church—can be happy that the principal donors of habits of being are corporations, institutions ordered by appetite. But here there is another, more hopeful sign of the times. It seems, increasingly, that the human heart remains unsatisfied with the rewards of appetite sated, or even with the passions of appetite kindled. Something more is always wanted, something deeper and broader and longer-lasting, and as the possibility of finding this something in citizenship fades, and as the bankruptcy and corruption of the corporate promise begins slowly to become evident, people turn again to the churches, and with renewed passion. And so we have resurgent Islam across the world, the explosive growth of Christianity in much of Africa and parts of East Asia, and the increasing evidence of inchoate desires on the part even of jaded and sophisticated European and American Catholic Christians for a habit of being that is truly Catholic, truly all-embracing.

This means that *the* issue for the churches, as the third millennium advances, will be to find ways to offer to their faithful just such all-embracing habits of being. This will mean, among other things, a depth of commitment to learning from one another not so far evident. Catholic Christians, for example, have much to learn from Muslims about (for instance) the senses in which the American experiment of separating church from state is a Trojan horse from which the corrosively destructive forces of the transnational corporation inevitably burst forth. Tibetan Buddhists in exile have much to learn from Jews about what it is like to attempt survival as a diaspora people. The churches must, if they are to survive as anything other than decorative appendages to consumerist capitalism, if they are to provide anything more than the kind of formation that permits their members to fill in the religious preference box on the census form, look away from the nation-state, already effectively in history's dustbin, away from the corporation, the principal power of this present age, and toward one another, the only institutional forms that offer a hope of resistance.

A good beginning could be made by developing serious discussions among Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Christians, Muslims, and believing Jews about how best to offer to the faithful a catechesis of resistance and contradiction so that they might resist the demonic powers abroad in the world as the millennium begins. If this is not done, the idolatry and violence whose proliferation has soaked the last century of the second millennium in blood will proliferate still further in the third, for there will be nowhere to turn for a habit of being that could act as a sign of contradiction.

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Hilton Kramer

It is with a feeling of immense foreboding that I regard the future of cultural life in the first decade of the new millennium, never mind what might be in store for our society further on in the coming century. All the portents point to an acceleration of the merry, mindless, technology-driven surrender to the complacent nihilism that has already overtaken so many of the institutions of cultural life—the universities, the museums, the book-publishing industry, the entertainment media, and the demoralized remains of liberal journalism. What looks to be a certainty in the next decade is that the telecommunications revolution will further imperil the already fragile sanctuaries of high culture—and thus the treasured intellectual traditions of the West that require a vigorous and creative high culture for their survival and renewal.

It is already a fact of life that the telecommunications revolution has had the effect of further immoralizing and infantilizing almost every aspect of popular culture, which is now massified on a greater scale than ever before. It is also a fact of life that our democratic society has lost the power to protect its citizens—and particularly its children—from the evil effects of this cultural imperative.

Consider, for example, the fate of the campaign to limit easy access—which means, of course, mass access—to pornography. In certain cities—New York most conspicuously—the effort to "clean up" districts formerly dominated by porn shops is regarded as a significant success. And in some respects it has been a success. In my own neighborhood in Manhattan—in what used to be called Hell's Kitchen, a short walk from Times Square—the changes at street level have been dramatic. Yet the vilest forms of pornography are now more easily accessible on the Internet than they ever were on the streets. That, too, is a paradigm of the cultural future.

So is the fact that some of the milder forms of pornography—and some not so mild—have now become standard fare in mainstream television programs, movies, Broadway shows, museum exhibitions, and the many glossy magazines that cater to the fashion and "lifestyle" interests of young adult men and women. A similar decline in the standards of pub-

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lic decency has now become the norm in certain branches of the fashion advertising industry, especially those promoting the sale of underwear and jeans. Sexual freakishness is the norm, too, in, for example, the fashion pages of the *New York Times Magazine*, which deliberately compete with some of the seamier, so-called "transgressive" forms of visual art in the galleries and museums in an effort to appeal to young consumers. These, too, are portents of a cultural future that is likely to be further immoralized.

Against the growing power of this immoralizing imperative, our democratic institutions have so far proved to be powerless. Far from resisting it, our schools have largely surrendered to it, and so for the most part have the courts. Our political leaders talk about "family values" yet do nothing to support the moral integrity of marriage and the family. There are pockets of resistance, of course. I think the home-schooling movement may be the most significant, for what seems to be the driving force of this movement is not only the desire to secure a more sound education for children than can now be obtained in the public schools, but also a well-founded fear of the immoralizing influence that the culture of the public schoolroom may now be expected to exert on innocent minds. For the schoolroom, too, is now more decisively influenced by the popular culture than ever before. For these reasons, I would expect the home-schooling movement to continue to grow in the coming century, yet its very nature will prevent it from becoming anything more than a marginal phenomenon.

As for the fate of high culture, everything will depend on its ability to marshal a principled resistance to the influence of popular culture. With few exceptions, our universities can no longer be counted upon to contribute anything significant to that resistance. Our academic culture has become part of the problem. So, for the most part, have the liberal media. Everything now depends on those fragile sanctuaries of high culture that continue to exist at a distance from our mainstream institutions. Whether these embattled sanctuaries will play as great a role in cultural life in the next century as they did in some earlier periods of this century, no one can say with any certainty.

But we can take some solace, perhaps, in the fact that so-called "coterie" movements in high culture have contributed most of what we still value in the cultural life of this century. The odds against repeating that difficult success are now greater, to be sure, and we enter the next century with our ranks depleted. Yet the outcome in the cultural sphere of our civilization, as in the political sphere, will depend on the quality of its leadership, and no one can yet say what that will be.

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Peter J. Leithart

A millennium ago, Europe faced the dual prospect of economic and social collapse on the one hand and spiritual awakening on the other. From 970 to the mid-eleventh century, there were forty-eight years of famine. Trade and communications broke down, and travelers were threatened by bands of roving brigands. During much of the tenth century, the Church was in continual tumult, with seventeen Popes over fifty years. Simultaneously, the Cluniac movement was giving fresh impetus to monasticism, and during the 990s pagan peoples were flooding the Church: Poles, Magyars, Icelanders, Danes, and, in the East, the Kievan Rus. It was, as someone once said, the best of times and the worst of times.

So, it seems, are *all* times, including the years at the close of the second millennium of the Christian era. But if our day is also the best and worst of times, "best" and "worst" have been inverted. Materially, Western Europe and America enjoy unimaginable wealth, and the comparative peace of the past fifty years is, if not unprecedented, nonetheless a striking anomaly in world history. Yet the same nations whose rulers swore fealty to Christ a millennium ago are now among the most secular nations on the earth. In Christian terminology, the past several centuries have witnessed widespread apostasy.

As a result, the West is, as it was at the end of the tenth century, a mission field. Indeed, the West is the Church's main challenge in the coming centuries. Evangelization of pagans has become something of a specialty; if Celts and Magyars and Vikings can be persuaded to beat their swords into plowshares, so can the Sawi and the Hutu. In Europe and America, however, the Church faces a mission field unlike any it has encountered before. Never has a civilization seemed so capable of successfully completing what T. S. Eliot called the experiment in forming "a civilized but non-Christian mentality." Barbarians may be ruling us, but they are damned efficient barbarians.

More importantly, the West poses a unique religious challenge. New Age faddism notwithstanding, ours is not a pagan civilization, but a civilization once Christian and, in spite of itself, still Christian in many respects. Introduced into the world as heady new wine, Christianity is a hard habit to shake, and the part of the globe once known as "Christ's domain" has a lingering hangover. During the past three centuries, Western history has been a search for relief that will enable us to turn on the light with-

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out wincing. Thus far, the search has been fruitless, but it continues, and even intensifies, as the new millennium approaches.

One prospect is that the medicine will be found; the destruction of what remains of Christendom may actually succeed, which would mean an end to what we know as "the West." I disagree profoundly with the pop-apocalypticism recently portrayed in Tim LaHaye's *Left Behind* series, and I am profoundly skeptical of the techno-apocalypticism associated with the Y2K bug. In one sense, though, I must stand with the loonies: history is not a seamless development but one full of gnarls and tangles, fits and starts, rises and falls. Catastrophes do happen, current trends don't continue, it can happen here, and there is a God who judges. Success on the mission field of the West may come only when the West is no longer the West. Perhaps the rubble must be cleared before new building can begin. I do not say this with complacency. We simply cannot imagine the horrors that would be unleashed if the remaining constraints were removed. If this house falls, great will be the fall of it.

This is, as the apostle Paul would say, a perplexing prospect, but not a reason for despair. If the current trend of prosperity is not guaranteed to continue, neither is apostasy. Repentance on this scale cannot be manipulated and it is not a product of strategy. Renewal will come, if it comes, not from the head office, but from unexpected backwaters. Martyrs make the most successful missionaries, and air-conditioned churches with padded pews hardly nurture a spirit of martyrdom. Elsewhere, however, there are armies of martyrs-in-training. While the West has been busily trying to forget why it sent missionaries in the first place, missionary efforts have continued and in the past two centuries have met with unparalleled success. Mission fields have been transformed into fields of missionaries.

If it survives, the West will have to relearn the habits of Christian civilization from those once considered barbarians; and light will shine from what was once the deepest darkness. If good things can come from Galilee—and they can—then surely good things can come from Kenya and South Korea.

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George McKenna

It is hard to find many encouraging prospects for the culture of life in the new century. The culture of death seems to be on a roll.

In 1973, after *Roe v. Wade* was decided, pro-lifers predicted that the right to kill unborn children would turn into the right to kill already-born children and other vulnerable people. The reaction, from their opponents and from the press: "Oh, come on!" It took twenty years for "Oh, come on!" to become "Why not?" They started pulling out plugs on respirators in 1976, and in the 1980s they started pulling out feeding tubes. In 1987 a North Dakota court declared that even spoon-feeding is "artificial and intrusive." In the 1990s the culture of death made the next big leap: to the act of neo-infanticide that is partial-birth abortion.

Then, in 1996, two U.S. Appeals Courts, one in California and one in New York, struck down state laws banning euthanasia. (The appeals court in California explicitly confirmed the "slippery slope" predictions of abortion opponents by basing its decision on the "compelling similarities between right-to-die cases and abortion cases.") The Supreme Court reversed the two decisions, but the majority opinion left the door open to future claims, and a series of concurring opinions, adding up to a majority, outlined circumstances that would justify a constitutional "right" to die with the help of doctors.

The state of Oregon hasn't waited for the courts. In 1994, 52 percent of Oregon voters backed a measure allowing physician-assisted death. California and Washington voters had turned down similar proposals, but this one was sold to the public as ultra-cautious: physicians could only prescribe, not administer, the drugs; the drugs were only for patients with six months or less to live; and the patients had to request them three times.

We know what happens to these guidelines. The Netherlands—the North Star of the right-to-die movement—began physician-assisted suicide fifteen years ago with guidelines like Oregon's, and virtually every one of the guidelines has been violated with impunity. At least one out of five so-called assisted suicides in Holland is involuntary (called "termination of the patient without explicit request"). That seems to be the direction we're heading.

Is there any reason to hope that things can be turned around? Well, consider this statement: "Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid." Abraham Lincoln wrote it in 1855 as he reflected on some discouraging developments, including the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which had opened the western territories to slavery. Slavery was spreading like a cancer (a "wen," Lincoln called it). Yet, within ten years, the whole damned thing was gone. Even before the terrible war, even by 1860, it

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had been shaken to its foundations by acting men and women: by ministers, novelists, newspaper editors, "conscience Whigs," and by Lincoln himself.

The present "progress in degeneracy" is as rapid as that of slavery in 1855. But the death culture has the same vulnerability as the slave culture: just about everyone knows that it is wrong. In his 1858 debates with Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln kept probing the raw nerve of slavery: "The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong."

And so today: Even most pro-choicers know that killing innocent people is wrong. The mutterings of conscience can be heard not only in the public's responses to polling questions but in the embarrassed, euphemistic language used by abortion advocates: abortion is "reproductive choice," abortion clinics are "women's clinics," unborn children are "products of conception," and so on. Consider the *New York Times*' struggles to avoid saying "partial-birth abortion." First they called it "a rarely used procedure," until they found out it wasn't rare; then it was "a procedure known officially as D & X," until they found out that "D & X" was not in the medical literature but was just made up by its inventor; now they call it "a type of late-term abortion." That a newspaper that prides itself on its lucid English should resort to such weirdly elliptical language shows that something is troubling its editors.

It is getting so hard to deny the humanity of unborn children. Remember when pro-choicers used to call them "blobs of tissue"? Ultrasound pictures have retired that expression, and fetology keeps giving us astounding new information about their mental and physical activities in the womb. It may be just because of all these developments, because the perceived line between the unborn and the newly born has thinned into nonexistence, that the most hardened pro-choicers are tempted to go all the way to infanticide with Peter Singer.

My hunch is that most in the abortion movement will not. But, speaking as someone interested in political change, I don't much care which way hard-core abortion advocates go. They are a distinct minority. The majority of Americans belong in the "mushy middle," allowing women to have a "right" to abortion while agreeing that it is wrong and should be limited.

Eventually, as Lincoln said of slavery, it will be all one thing or all the other. Right now the death culture seems to be winning. But history is not like astronomy; we are not passively watching the inexorable movement of things. Human beings act *into* history, nudging events into surprising tangents. Suppose a candidate in a general election were to say: "The underlying division in this campaign is between those who regard abortion as a wrong, and would limit it, and those who do not look upon it as a wrong and would tolerate its extension." This might or might not help the candidate (I think it would) but it would certainly blow away much of the smog that has obscured public thought on this issue. And, once people start thinking, all bets are off.

The rest of us, the nonpoliticians, have our own role to play. Like those in the 1850s who refused to stand back and watch the "progress in degeneracy," we must act into history. In his 1947 novel *The Plague*, Albert Camus wrote of what had to be done "by all who, while unable to be saints, but refusing to bow down to pestilences, strive their utmost to be healers." Reaching out to the ambivalent majority, getting it to think, and getting its support for feasible measures that will stop the further spread of the abortion culture and put it in the course of ultimate extinction must be on the agenda of healers in this new century.

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David Novak

The twentieth century has witnessed the worst and the best in Jewish-Christian relations. On the negative side of the ledger is the Holocaust. Even if responsibility for the systematic murder of six million Jews lies with the anti-Christian ideology of the Nazis, the fact is that traditional Christian anti-Judaism was easily appropriated by that ideology, and too many Christians either supported the murder of the Jews or did nothing about it when much could have been done against it. But on the positive side of the ledger, in the postwar era Jews and Christians have been talking and working together in a constructive and wholly unprecedented way. Why did the worst and the best emerge in the same century? How one answers this question will suggest an agenda for good Jewish-Christian relations in the twenty-first century.

The world Jews and Christians now inhabit is neither Jewish nor Christian. That has led Jews and Christians interested in surviving in this world to become more genuinely religious for the sake of their own identity. This must be seen from the back-

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ground of a more startling fact: in this past century, especially during its latter half, the political power of Jews has grown at the same time the political power of Christians has shrunk. Our culture, which formerly could be considered "Christian," no longer looks to Christianity for its justification. This has come as a great shock to many Christians, and it largely explains the worst and the best of the ways Christians have related to Jews.

At worst, Christians have blamed Jewish support of secularization for their loss of power, and some of them have turned to anti-Semitism as a way to restore the anti-Judaism that once was an element of Christian social and cultural hegemony. But the Holocaust showed that modern, racial anti-Semitism not only does not need religious anti-Judaism, but is actually intent on destroying the Jewish roots of Christianity. Without those roots, Christianity cannot survive.

At best, the full realization of what the Holocaust meant has influenced Christians to seek out Judaism and Jews, and to come to understand that the inherent theological rivalry between Judaism and Christianity cannot be overcome by Christian defeat of Judaism and the Jewish people. Today, Christian scholars learn Judaism from Jewish scholars and thinkers, along the way discovering just who the Jews really are. The results, both intellectual and political, have been impressive.

Despite the Holocaust, Jewish power in the secular world has grown enormously. Proof of this is how well the Jewish people survived the Holocaust, with a greater determination to be more active and less vulnerable in the world. Jews have not only become equal citizens in Western democracies, they have become leading citizens. And, of course, the reestablishment of the State of Israel has given Jews a political presence in the world they have not had since biblical times. In the course of all this, many Jews have looked to the increasing secularity of the world as the source of their newly won power. Jews of this mindset are usually anti-Christian, since they regard Christians as the primary group wanting the Jews to return to the ghetto—or worse.

However, an increasing number of Jews are now realizing that it is problematic to look to secularism for our survival. Secularism has no need for Judaism, for what makes Jews Jewish in the first place. It is, therefore, a recipe for our disappearance—either with a bang or a whimper. That is why more and more Jews are turning inward to the religious content of the Jewish tradition to justify their continued identity. And, while some of these returning Jews look at Christianity and Christians as an ancient foe, others are beginning to realize that Christians are facing challenges similar to ours, and for the same reasons. Christians and Jews alike are the new exiles of the contemporary world, struggling with how to sing the Lord's song in a strange land.

I think Jewish-Christian relations in the next century and millennium will grow in breadth and depth if Jews and Christians accept that neither community can or should control the secular realm. Christians cannot and should not attempt to regain a world they have lost, and Jews cannot and should not try to gain a world they never had. When Jews and Christians are able to say more and more "I am a stranger on earth, do not hide from me Your commandments" (Psalm 119:19), they will find how much they need each other to be able to keep these commandments here and now.

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Edward T. Oakes

Leaving aside genuine scientific discoveries such as relativity and the helical structure of the genetic molecule DNA, or the truly original innovations in linguistics from Noam Chomsky, the twentieth century has, in retrospect, shown itself to be singularly poor in intellectual creativity. Even a quick glance at the events from 1900 to the present reveals that nearly every idea driving the passions of what Nietzsche called "Great Politics" in the last one hundred years was conceived during the reign of Queen Victoria: communism, anticolonialism, psychoanalysis, socialism, protest atheism, evolution by natural selection (and its malign cousin, Social Darwinism), feminism, utilitarian ethics, behaviorism, racism (and the racist version of anti-Semitism)—all were hatched in that overheated terrarium, the late-nineteenth-century mind. (Fascism might seem uniquely twentieth century in its genealogy, but it is merely the fusion, however awkward, of socialism and ethnocentric racism, as the term National Socialism already indicates.)

Moreover, with the lone exceptions of feminism and evolution, not a single one of these ideas has survived its (at times bloody) trials in the laboratory of the twentieth century. In fact the two major legacies of the *eighteenth* century, free-market capitalism and universal human rights, show much more promise of animating the politics of the next millennium than anything conjured up in the nineteenth, let alone the twentieth, century.

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Something similar applies to Christian theology, although because there is almost always a significant time lag between developments in secular culture and the Christian churches, one must move the threshold ahead by almost a century. For in the decades between 1919 (when Karl Barth published the first edition of his famous commentary on Romans) and 1988 (when Hans Urs von Balthasar died) the Christian churches witnessed an extraordinary outpouring of theological genius, while after that date everything seems faintly derivative and hollow, where positions have already begun to harden into rote ideologies, and "ignorant armies clash by night." To compare the achievements of Barth and Rudolf Bultmann on the Protestant side or Balthasar and Karl Rahner on the Catholic side with contemporary efforts immediately leads to the dismaying realization that perhaps the era of theological creativity will pass from the churches in the next century in much the same way that genuine intellectual creativity almost completely disappeared from twentieth-century culture generally (again, Einstein, Chomsky, and a few others excepted).

One recent and sure sign of contemporary decadence is the habit of pigeonholing every theological position into the hoary categories of liberal and conservative and then judging the position on that basis, often without any direct acquaintance with the text advocating that position. I do not wish to deny some initial utility to these terms, but their constant invocation remains worrisome. For one thing, these terms are largely irrelevant in the history of theology (was Arius conservative or liberal?). And if the liberal/conservative spectrum cannot truly describe the past, why are these categories not similarly pointless today?

In my opinion, the reason for this dreary state of affairs is that great curse of the contemporary intellect, what I shall call the digital mind. In the famous debate over whether computers can think, I hold with John Searle and Roger Penrose that they cannot, precisely because they operate by manipulating binary oppositions. But I would also say the same of humans: they too prove incapable of anything passing for real thought whenever they browbeat every insight, like cattle being herded in a slaughterhouse, into the binary boxcars of liberal/conservative, progressive/traditional, liberating/constraining.

For this reason, predicting the future of theology becomes not just impossible but bootless. Any *real* theology will be startlingly new, as unexpected as the emergence of Augustine's *Confessions*, or Pascal's *Pensées*—or Karl Barth's famous No to liberal theology with his commentary on Romans, which, in Karl Adam's well-known phrase, hit the playground of the theologians like a bombshell. But such newness, should it come, will strike contemporaries not just as unexpected but also as a grace. For whatever the history of theology teaches, it surely must be that theological creativity is not a birthright of the Church. On the contrary, some centuries are numbingly sterile in terms of theological creativity: the sixth to the tenth centuries in Western Europe; the era of nominalism in the fourteenth and fifteenth; the eighteenth in Roman Catholic seminaries.

Speaking of seminaries, Catholic theologians in the academy are currently in a dither about Roman control of their product, especially after the promulgation of *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* and *Ad Tuendam Fidem*, Roman documents that, to judge by some reactions, have reduced the role of the theologian to that of a public relations officer for Microsoft Church. Cardinal Bellarmine once said that the Church's visibility differs in no way from that of the Republic of Venice; and in that regard the Catholic Church has in recent times taken on (perhaps inevitably, if Bellarmine is right) certain aspects of corporate culture, with gleaming skyscraper chanceries, slick videos, banks of lawyers advising the CEO bishop. (I once called an out-of-town chancery and got a voice-mail message that gave a menu of options that came close to this parody: "for annulments, press 1; for liturgical complaints against your local pastor, press 2," and so forth.)

But this lament ignores Rome's entirely legitimate worries about an even more obvious ideologization of the academy. "Pious scholars are rare," Pascal once observed, and under that rubric the increased professionalization of theology cannot be an entirely unmixed blessing. I hunger for real debate in theology as much as anyone, free of the instant kibitzing of some low-rung Vatican cleric in the Roman Curia; indeed I salute the medieval university precisely because it embodied the reality of structured debate so well (in which, of course, the hierarchy was fully a participant, making an *institutional* adversary relationship between theologian and Magisterium inconceivable).

But is this true of the academy today? For example, how much debate really goes on in the Catholic Theological Society of America nowadays? Has it finally become, as so many critics assert, the equivalent of the General Assembly of the United Nations, that is, a group that likes to pass resolutions that seem daring in their desire to *épater les Curialistes* (that is, to tweak Rome on women's ordination, nuclear weapons, and so forth) but which in fact never stray from the politically correct norms

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of the academic left?

Rather than answer such questions or seek to predict the future, I will simply say that insofar as either Rome or the academy regards any particular position across a range of issues—especially pertaining to the deliverances of science—as the only one that can be publicly advocated, then we are still stuck in the era of digital theology, which in fact is not theology but ideology.

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John J. Reilly

The term "postmodern" is an unsatisfactory description of the last few decades of the twentieth century. Postmodern is a definition-by-negation, which is rarely a good idea: consider the example of those atheists who devote their lives to combating a nonexistent god. Moreover, there never really was much evidence that the period was moving beyond the modern era in any serious sense. In both its popular and elite forms, the postmodern spirit is largely a matter of living off the achievements of the modern age by making fun of them.

But then, what of the term "modern" itself? Strictly speaking, any era can (and does) call itself modern. When we speak of modernity, we usually have something more specific than "the present" in mind. Even so, the term is elastic: modernity can mean the twentieth century after the First World War, or the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or everything after Columbus. The historian William McNeill once plausibly suggested that the modern world system actually began in eleventh-century China.

It makes most sense, I think, to consider that our modern world began with the French Revolution. Our era is an episode within the Enlightenment, some of whose possibilities it realized and some it forever precluded. Modernity has had a great deal in common with the Hellenistic Age of the classical West and with the Warring States period in ancient China. It is a good bet that, like those epochs, it will last rather less than three centuries. Probably some watershed like 1789 lies ahead in the twenty-first century—more likely in its second half than in its first—on the other side of which, history flows in another direction.

The future will look after its own nomenclature, but I for one find it hard to resist speculation about how the future will characterize our modernity. Even if we entertain the notion that there have been analogous periods in the past, still every such era must also be unique. "Warring States" would not be appropriate for the modern West, for instance, since the era has not been one of continual warfare, but of unusually long periods of tranquillity punctuated by apocalyptic explosions. Herman Hesse made a better suggestion in *The Glass Bead Game*, where modernity is seen from the future as the "Age of Feuilletons." That is just strange enough to happen.

Certainly the name would have to evoke the tendency toward analysis and reduction that has characterized the West these last two centuries. The great movements in intellectual life, from philosophy to economics, have been toward atomization, even as sovereign states multiplied in accordance with the principle that every little language must have its own country. The modern era is really the Age of Nominalism. As for its postmodern coda, these decades are simply the stage when nominalism achieved its natural culmination in solipsism, in language speaking itself.

This brings us to the age to come. In naming the future, it seems fitting to proceed with a little help from Hegel. Historical epochs do tend to react against the excesses of their predecessors, though that is never all they do. If the Age of Nominalism is the thesis, then any medievalist can tell you that the obvious antithesis will be an Age of Realism.

Maybe already we see the beginnings of an age that is more interested in synthesis than analysis. These adumbrations take various forms, from the proposals for a "final theory" of physics to the two-steps-forward, one-step-back progress toward world government. Perhaps we see a hint of the mind of the future in E. O. Wilson's ambitious and metaphysically naive notion of "consilience," a universal structure of knowledge that would have a sociobiological backbone. More ambitious and not at all naive is the project outlined in John Paul II's *Fides et Ratio*, which looks toward a harmonization of our understanding of all levels of reality, something not seen since the Thomistic synthesis. None of these projects is likely to have quite the results their proponents have in mind, but they may tell us something about the cultural climate of 2100.

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Jeffrey Satinover

Millennia are really big events—like when the odometer on your car rolls over from 9999.9.

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Well, the kid brought his car in for its 2,000 year check-up, so I did it. But I warned him, the news is *really* bad, so fixing it is *really* going to cost a lot.

Here's one problem. *The redeemers have already arrived.* The Thousand Year Reich may seem to have lasted a scant few years, but if you look carefully, you'll see that after three days in the bunker, almost every one of its core ideas was resurrected to radiate future-ward over ever spreading territory. Mercy killing, abortion, infanticide, the whole conceptual structure of *unlebenswertige* life, once seen as repulsive, has within but one generation been transformed into the very portrait of beauty. Eugenics, insistent racialism, and nationally demarcated socialism are now the common heritage of all enlightened Westerners. Governor George W. Bush got it (inadvertently) right: it's ridiculous to whine that we're "slouching toward Gomorrah"—we're in a dead sprint, chest at the tape, proud of our imminent triumph.

That's one problem. Another is this: *Fairness.* The hereditary aristocracies have vanished, but a new cognitive elite has just begun its ascent to dominance, and everyone is invited to join—if they are smart enough to know how. At our best universities, the largest proportion allow their brains to be shaped by useless drivel: deconstructionism, alternate sexualities, loony methods for achieving "social justice." The American mind isn't just being closed, it's being evacuated.

But there is another, much smaller, group on campus. It pursues quantitative studies. Year by year, the content grows ever more sophisticated and complex. Many years of training in sophisticated mathematics will allow a student to but scratch the surface of, say, early quantum mechanics. To really get its present state requires many years more. This group is naturally both elite and meritocratic.

Math and physics students are now being recruited by Wall Street because even finance is becoming ever more quantitative. The right shoes and the right social network may still help at the beginning, but increasingly, it's the right number on your Stanford-Binet, and the application of that number to the right stuff, that does the trick. It's not for nothing that the riches of Silicon Valley were created by nerds. Of all the major universities, MIT produces the largest proportion of entrepreneurs and has the reputation elsewhere in the world of being "the best."

When the rising elite have consolidated their ability to manipulate emerging biomolecular and quantum computational technologies, they will form a club whose barriers to entry will be the most scrupulously fair in history—and the most ruthlessly impenetrable to the unqualified. Having little need to preserve dominance by force or trickery, they may form, if they have a mind to, the most benign and self-centered ruling class imaginable. The arrogance of today's "caring" elites is a mere foretaste of the unasked-for helpfulness to come.

Perhaps we will even alter human nature itself, and turn ourselves into something utterly alien, a race for whom the old standards—wisdom, humility, nobility, kindness—will be discarded like a serpent's skin. We'll just become winners, until we meet an alien race better at it than we, but since at that point we will be genetically convinced that might alone makes right, it won't matter.

Yet another vehicular system that seems to be failing is religion. I suppose that God Himself is doing just fine, but His earthly defenders are on the ropes—and it's our own fault. Religion deservedly comes in for more criticism in its failures than does science, because genuine religion claims for itself the ability to know what's true, whereas genuine science claims for itself only the ability to quantify the probability of a thing being wrong. (Bad science and bad religion simply swap roles, the former proclaiming Truth, the latter worshiping Doubt.) Religion's bête noire is the fact that a genuine truth arrogantly asserted—that is, without so much as a moment's consideration that it might be false—is a most pernicious kind of falsehood, far worse in its effects on the humane than a flat mistake.

It's a matter of modesty. It never uses the term, but *science itself* is a method to insure modesty of claims (however arrogant its practitioners). Religion, on the other hand, speaks constantly of the virtues, and then, on the whole, displays them with no greater consistency than does any other human institution.

This defect interacts dangerously with a second one. *The rising cognitive elite doesn't care for religion.* For them, fine-sounding phrases about "brotherly love" are a joke. In their world, it's simple: if you've got the brains and can back them up with action, you're a full-fledged member. It is among this elite that the highest proportion of truly multiracial progeny can already be found, and more than anything else, that expanding reality will be a far more convincing argument that they're right and the religionists wrong.

But the biggest problem is this: the world is changing far more dramatically than I think the boy can appreciate. It's a world where quantum teleportation, quantum computation, and quantum cryptography, for example, are not only being taken seriously, some have already been implemented at practical scales and are the object of intensive commercial research and development. It's not just a

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matter of some really cool technologies for us to gape at, but of a world where only those capable of mastering the wizardry behind the technologies will rise, and where our creations may well outstrip their creators.

How about, say, self-evolving brains composed of teleporting quantum computational elements processing information simultaneously in multiple universes? Science fiction? Nope. Between July 16 and 19, 1999 at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, NASA and the Department of Defense held their first annual conference on evolvable hardware. A sample of the presentations:

- Evolving Circuits by Means of Natural Selection
- Embryologic Electronics
- The Design and Use of Massively Parallel Fine-Grained Self-Reconfigurable Infinitely Scalable Architecture
- Self-Repairing Evolvable Hardware
- Genetically Engineered Nanoelectronics
- Co-Evolutionary Robotics
- Evolving Wire Antennas

Willy-nilly, we have embarked upon an adventure that leads to shores far more distant and alien than any we have ever set out for before. Attempts are being made, naturally, to link all this weirdness to philosophies and theologies of yore, to take the utterly mysterious and make it at least sound familiar. But I suspect that we are on the verge of something that we're not going to be able to grasp quite so simply. It's possible that we've *all* been wrong in important ways all along. Even human immortality is not so remote a scientific possibility as was once thought.

Picture a world, then, in which, long before the dawning of the *fourth* millennium, mankind has created conscious, brilliant semiconductor simulacra made of endlessly self-repairing parts; it has itself eaten of the second tree in the Garden, that of Life, and thus acquired the immortality it has long sought—or at least a select group has, whose members have likewise devised methods for the enhancement of their already concentrated pool of intelligence-associated genes. Where in such a world would there be a place for divine justice? Nowhere. (Unless, of course, there really is a Heaven, in which case the justice would be perfect.)

So, what were the damages for all this? You won't be surprised at the reaction I got: "Change *myself*? But it's the car that's got the problem!" All I can say is, between now and the next checkup he better bring the thing in to an authorized service center—and on a regular basis. And you know, I don't get his dad. What lunatic gives a teenager with a long record of moving violations a souped-up Lamborghini, an instruction booklet, and a set of keys? It's no wonder that sometime around 2450 a group of traditionalists are going to take off for the new world found orbiting around Cygnus 351.

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Glenn Tinder

Our clear awareness that there are many different ways of looking at the world, and at man and his place in the world, is one of the most troubling circumstances of our time, and it is sure to endure well into, if not throughout, the third millennium of the Christian era. It is troubling simply because it makes it hard to think that one's own particular way of looking at things is altogether true. The idea that there are numerous and conflicting truths, or, to put the same idea in other words, that there are numerous and conflicting illusions—all shaped mainly by the historical situations of those clinging to them—is, for many people, nearly irresistible.

Manifestly, present cultural diversities, which not only appear on a global scale but encounter one another within single societies, must on the whole be tolerated. But tolerance easily becomes acquiescence in the submergence of truth into a shifting variety of opinions and impressions. To those with a merely sentimental attachment to a culture or group, tolerance of that sort may be acceptable. It cannot be acceptable to followers of the God of Israel, however, and Christians and Jews are challenged, as they enter the new millennium, to develop an attitude toward the religious and cultural confusions surrounding them that is tolerant, yet, in refusing any dalliance with relativism, is distinct from traditional tolerance. To mark the distinction I shall call this attitude "forbearance."

The nature of forbearance can be understood in terms of three principles, all drawn from St. Paul. The first, eloquently described in 1 Corinthians 13, is charity, or, to accentuate the aspect of charity that concerns us mainly, neighborly love. Our neighbors today, in a world of instant communication, swift travel, and extensive emigration, are Mus-

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lims, Buddhists, Confucianists, and Hindus, as well as Marxists, Freudians, and innumerable other kinds of agnostics and atheists. Ignoring them would not express neighborly love, but neither would trying to force them all to think, feel, and live as we do. The only charitable relationship to them is one formed by attentiveness, which is a readiness to listen in a genuine effort at understanding, and a readiness to speak truthfully, persuasively, and even, in proper times and places, evangelically. In short, neighborly love amid diverse faiths means communality, or dialogical patience.

Such is one mark of forbearance. Yet the God of Israel did not call his people into communality with the Canaanites. In view of God's "jealousy"—a divine characteristic stressed about as forcefully in the Bible as are righteousness and mercy—how can communality, on the part of believers, be justified?

The answer may lie in a second Pauline principle defining forbearance. This is found in chapter 11 of the letter to the Romans, where the apostle grapples with one of the most distressing facts of his life: that most of his fellow Jews rejected Christ. Such "diversity" did not shake his faith, but it tried him sorely. The insight which quieted his concern—that the recalcitrance of the Jews was part of a divine strategy of redemption, encompassing Jews and Gentiles alike—seems to me of utmost significance for people struggling toward truth amid a multiplicity of creeds. It tells us that such a multiplicity is not accidental. It is set in the context of what Augustine calls "the beauty of the ages"—that is, the providential form of all historical time—and its ultimate consequence will be clarification. It has a place in the process of divine instruction that is fashioning the human race into a perfect and enduring community, the kingdom of God. Accordingly, the jealousy of God does not command intellectual tyranny but a heedful and articulate fidelity to His word, a truth not vulnerable to the doubts and perplexities inherent in human culture.

Forbearance cannot be understood, however, wholly in terms of a general rule of conduct like communality, or of universal human destiny. It needs to be sharply focused on the life of every individual. This is made clear in a third Pauline principle, the doctrine of election. The beauty of the ages is a drama in which every person is given a distinctive part. Every part is played by caring in one's own assigned way for the truth. Election is often thought of as ordination to salvation, and of course it is. But it carries responsibilities, and these decisively affect the situation of the elect. Not only are they, so to speak, given custody of the truth; if they fail to meet their responsibilities they may, at least for a time, be cast aside. Such occurrences belong to what Paul refers to as God's "unsearchable judgments" and "inscrutable ways" (Romans 11:33).

Hence there is no room for pride or complacency. One may be sure of possessing the truth—but only in a mood of fear and trembling. Nor is there room for contempt toward those still in darkness, for rejection is no more an inalterable determination than election is. Illustrative of the meaning of forbearance, given a fully nuanced consciousness of election, is Paul's anguished love and inextinguishable hope for his Jewish brethren. Certitude, humility, and charity are perfectly reconciled.

Forbearance means *bearing* the discord of minds and hearts occasioned by our fallen state. (Since the word "tolerance" derives from *tolerare*, meaning to bear, forbearance may be seen as tolerance in its precise signification.) Given the complex obligations it imposes—embracing doctrinal and cultural opponents in a spirit of communal readiness, enduring diversity as mysteriously integral to the divine work of redemption, and discerning and meeting distinctive responsibilities for the care of truth—forbearance is demanding and severe. It must therefore be an art. Like any art, however, it does not only involve difficulty and labor; it can bring peace and happiness. Thus Paul ends his agonizing reflections on the Jewish rejection of Christ with an exultant exclamation—"O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God!"—which breaks out when he realizes the providential power with which God will enlist every intellectual and spiritual disorder in the cause of truth (Romans 11:33). In an era that says to us every day, "There is no Truth," the art of forbearance might at least help us resist the temptations of relativism. And it might even help us enter with joy into a destiny that will finally show forth the Truth in such plainness and splendor that no one who has ever lived will be able to misunderstand or ignore it.

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Harry Potter's Magic

Alan Jacobs

By now most readers in this country are aware of what has come to be called the Harry Potter phenomenon. It's hard to be unaware. Any bookstore you might care to enter is strewn with giant stacks of the Harry Potter books—three of them now that *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* has finally been released in the United States. This blessed event comes after some months during which the on-line bookstore Amazon.co.uk—Britain's branch of the ever-expanding Amazon.com empire—devoted much of its energy to shipping copies across the Atlantic, creating in the process a miniature trade war, as lawyers on both sides of the pond tried to figure out which country a book is purchased in when it's ordered *from* a British company but *on* a computer in America. Whatever the legal status of cyberspatial commerce, anyone visiting either Amazon.com or Amazon.co.uk last summer could not but note that the best-selling books on both sites were the Harry Potter novels, which ranked a consistent one, two, and three.

Many people are also familiar with the story behind the most talked-about children's books in decades, perhaps ever: how Joanne Rowling, an out-of-work teacher and single mother living on the dole in Edinburgh, started scribbling a story in a local café as her small daughter dozed in a stroller; how an English publisher, Bloomsbury Books, took a chance on this unknown author; and how, almost wholly by word-of-mouth reports, the first novel, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, became a best-seller not just among children but also among adults, for whom Bloomsbury designed a more mature-looking cover so commuters on bus and tube would not have to be embarrassed as they eagerly followed Harry's quest to discover what the enormous three-headed dog, Fluffy, was guarding in that off-limits corridor of Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry. International success, as indicated by those great piles of books at 40 percent discount and the dominance of Amazon's best-seller lists, quickly followed.

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In the twenty-some-odd years that I have been pretty closely following trends in American publishing, no development in the industry has been nearly so inexplicable to me, nor has any development made me so happy. For I adore the Harry Potter books. I read the first one—under its silly American title, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (the American publisher evidently judged that no book with the word "philosopher" in the title could sell)—thinking that it might be something I could read to my son. Though I decided that he wasn't quite old enough, at six, to follow the rather complicated plot, I myself was hooked, and in my impatience ordered each of the next two novels in the series from Amazon.co.uk, thus making my own personal contribution to the perplexity of international trade law. (The remaining books in the series—Rowling plans a total of seven—will be published simultaneously in the U.S. and the U.K., thus cutting the legal Gordian knot.)

J. K. Rowling, as the books' covers have it—the name rhymes with "bowling"—simply has that mysterious gift, so prized among storytellers and lovers of stories but so resistant to critical explication, of world-making. It is a gift that many Christian readers tend to associate with that familiar but rather amorphous group of English Christian writers, the Inklings—though the association is not quite proper, since only one of the Inklings, J. R. R. Tolkien, had this rare faculty, and few of the others even aspired to it. Tolkien, however, possessed the power in spades, and gave useful names to it as well: he spoke of the "secondary worlds" created by the

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writer, and of "mythopoeia" as the activity of such "sub-creation." The sine qua non of such mythopoeia, for Tolkien, is the making of a world that resembles ours but is not ours, a world that possesses internal logic and self-consistency to the same degree that ours does—but not the *same* logic: it must have its own rules, rules that are peculiar to it and that generate consequences also peculiar to it.

It is important to understand that C. S. Lewis' Narnia books, great though they may be, are not in this strict sense mythopoeic: Lewis does not want to create a self-consistent secondary world, but rather a world in which all the varieties of mythology meet and find their home. In Narnia there is no internal consistency whatever: thus Father Christmas can show up in the middle of *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*, and Bacchus and Silenus in the middle of *Prince Caspian*. It may well be that this mythographic promiscuity, so to speak, is key to the success of the Chronicles of Narnia, but it makes them very different books from Tolkien's, and it is the reason why Tolkien hated the Narnia stories. They lacked the clearly demarcated wholeness which he considered the essential virtue of his own Middle Earth.

Joanne Rowling has expressed her love for the Narnia books—one of the reasons there will be, God willing, seven Harry Potter books is that there are seven volumes of Narnia stories—but as a literary artist she bears a far greater resemblance to Tolkien. One of the great pleasures for the reader of her books is the wealth of details, from large to small, that mark the Magic world as different from ours (which in the books is called the Muggle world): the tall pointed hats the students wear in their classes, in which they study such topics as Potions, Transfiguration, Defense Against the Dark Arts, and even Care and Feeding of Magical Creatures; the spells that are always in Latin ("*Expelliarmus*!"); or the universal addiction to Quidditch, a game that shares some characteristics with basketball, cricket, and soccer but is played in the air, on broomsticks, and with four balls. Rowling's attention to such matters is remarkable and charming, especially when the details are small: once, when he is visiting the home of a friend from a Magical family, Harry steps over a pack of Self-Shuffling Playing Cards. It's an item that could have been left out without any loss to the narrative, but it offers an elegant little surprise—and another piece of furniture for this thoroughly imagined universe.

I have made my enthusiasm for these books quite evident to many friends, but some of them are dubious—indeed, deeply suspicious. These are Christian people, and they feel that books which make magic so funny and charming don't exactly support the Christian view of things. Such novels could at best encourage children to take a smilingly tolerant New Age view of witchcraft, at worst encourage the practice of witchcraft itself. Moreover, some of them note, Harry Potter is not exactly a model student: he has, as the Headmaster of Hogwarts puts it, "a certain disregard for rules," and spends a good deal of time fervently hoping not to get caught in mid-disregard.

This second matter, I think, poses no real problem. It is true that Harry is often at odds with some of his teachers, but these particular teachers are not exactly admirable figures: they themselves are often at odds with the wise, benevolent, and powerful Headmaster, Albus Dumbledore, whom they sometimes attempt to undermine or outflank. But to Dumbledore, significantly, Harry is unswervingly faithful and obedient; indeed, the climax of the second novel, *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, turns on Harry's fidelity to Dumbledore.

Moreover, Harry's tendency to bypass or simply flout the rules is a matter of moral concern for him: he wonders and worries about the self-justifications he offers, and often doubts not just his abilities but his virtue. He is constantly aware that his great unchosen antagonist, Voldemort—the Dark Lord, the most evil of wizards and, after Dumbledore, the most powerful—offers temptations to which he cannot simply assume that he is immune. And when Dumbledore mentions Harry's "certain disregard for rules" he does so in a way that links such disregard with the forces of evil, thus warning Harry (though his larger purpose in that scene is to encourage the troubled young wizard).

In short, Rowling's moral compass throughout the three novels is sound—indeed, I would say, acute. But the matter of witchcraft remains, and it is not a matter to be trifled with. People today, and this includes many Christians, tend to hold two views about witches: first, that real witches don't exist, and second, that they aren't as bad as the evil masterminds of the Salem witch trials made them out to be. These are obviously incompatible beliefs. As C. S. Lewis has pointed out, there is no virtue in being tolerant of witches if you think that witchcraft is impossible, that is, that witches don't really exist. But if there are such things as witches, and they do indeed invoke supernatural or unnatural forces to bring harm to good people, then it would be neither wise nor good to tolerate them. So the issue is an important one, and worthy of serious reflection.

It is tempting to say, in response to these concerns, that Harry Potter is not that kind of wizard,

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that he doesn't do harm to anyone, except those who are manifestly evil and trying to do harm to him. And these are significant points. But an answer to our question must begin elsewhere.

The place to begin is to invoke one of the great achievements of twentieth-century historical scholarship: the eight volumes Lynn Thorndike published between 1929 and 1941 under the collective title *A History of Magic and Experimental Science.* And it is primarily the title that I wish to reflect upon here. In the thinking of most modern people, there should be two histories here: after all, are not magic and experimental science opposites? Is not magic governed by superstition, ignorance, and wishful thinking, while experimental science is rigorous, self-critical, and methodological? While it may be true that the two paths have diverged to the point that they no longer have any point of contact, for much of their existence—and this is Lynn Thorndike's chief point—they constituted a single path with a single history. For both magic and experimental science are means of controlling and directing our natural environment (and people insofar as they are part of that environment). C. S. Lewis has made the same assertion:

> [Francis Bacon's] endeavor is no doubt contrasted in our minds with that of the magicians: but contrasted only in the light of the event, only because we know that science succeeded and magic failed. That event was then still uncertain. Stripping off our knowledge of it, we see at once that Bacon and the magicians have the closest possible affinity. . . . Nor would Bacon himself deny the affinity: he thought the aim of the magicians was "noble."

It was not obvious in advance that science would succeed and magic fail: in fact, several centuries of dedicated scientific experiment would have to pass before it was clear to anyone that the "scientific" physician could do more to cure illness than the old woman of the village with her herbs and potions and muttered charms. In the Renaissance, alchemists were divided between those who sought to solve problems—the achievement of the philosopher's stone, for example (or should I say the *sorcerer's* stone?)—primarily through the use of what we would call mixtures of chemicals and those who relied more heavily on incantations, the drawing of mystical patterns, and the invocation of spirits.

At least, it seems to *us* that the alchemists can be so divided. But that's because we know that one approach developed into chemistry, while the other became pure magic. The division may not have been nearly so evident at the time, when (to adapt Weber's famous phrase) the world had not yet become disenchanted. As Keith Thomas has shown, it was "the triumph of the mechanical philosophy" of nature that "meant the end of the animistic conception of the universe which had constituted the basic rationale for magical thinking." Even after powerful work of the mechanistic scientists like Gassendi the change was not easily completed: Isaac Newton, whose name is associated more than any other with physical mechanics, dabbled frequently in alchemy.

This history provides a key to understanding the role of magic in Joanne Rowling's books, for she begins by positing a counterfactual history, a history in which magic was not a false and incompetent discipline, but rather a means of controlling the physical world at least as potent as experimental science. In Harry Potter's world, scientists think of magic in precisely the same way they do in our world, but they are wrong. The counterfactual "secondary world" that Rowling creates is one in which magic simply works, and works as reliably, in the hands of a trained wizard, as the technology that makes airplanes fly and refrigerators chill the air—those products of applied science being, by the way, sufficiently inscrutable to the people who use them that they might as well be the products of wizardry. As Arthur C. Clarke once wrote, "Any smoothly functioning technology gives the appearance of magic."

The fundamental moral framework of the Harry Potter books, then, is a familiar one to all of us: it is the problem of technology. (As Jacques Ellul wrote, "Magic may even be the origin of techniques.") Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry is in the business of teaching people how to harness and employ certain powers—that they are powers unrecognized by science is really beside the point—but cannot insure that people will use those powers wisely, responsibly, and for the common good. It is a choice, as the thinkers of the Renaissance would have put it, between *magia* and *goetia*: "high magic" (like the wisdom possessed by the magi in Christian legend) and "dark magic."

Hogwarts was founded by four wizards, one of whom, Salazar Slytherin, at least dabbled and perhaps reveled in the Dark Arts, that is, the use of his powers for questionable if not downright evil purposes, and for centuries many of the young wizards who reside in Slytherin House have exhibited the same tendency. The educational quandary for Albus Dumbledore, then—though it is never

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described so overtly—is how to train students not just in the "technology" of magic but also in the moral discernment necessary to avoid the continual reproduction of the few great Dark Lords like Voldemort and their multitudinous followers. The problem is exacerbated by the presence of faculty members who are not wholly unsympathetic with Voldemort's aims.

The clarity with which Rowling sees the need to choose between good and evil is admirable, but still more admirable, to my mind, is her refusal to allow a simple division of parties into the Good and the Evil. Harry Potter is unquestionably a good boy, but, as I have suggested, a key component of his virtue arises from his recognition that he is not *inevitably* good. When first-year students arrive at Hogwarts, they come to an assembly of the entire school, students and faculty. Each of them sits on a stool in the midst of the assembly and puts on a large, battered, old hat—the Sorting Hat, which decides which of the four houses the student will enter. After unusually long reflection, the Sorting Hat, to Harry's great relief, puts him in Gryffindor, but not before telling him that he could achieve real greatness in Slytherin. This comment haunts Harry: he often wonders if Slytherin is where he truly belongs, among the pragmatists, the careerists, the manipulators and deceivers, the power-hungry, and the just plain nasty. Near the end of the second book, after a terrifying encounter with Voldemort—his third, since Voldemort had tried to kill Harry, and succeeded in killing his parents, when Harry was a baby, and had confronted Harry again in the first book—he confesses his doubts to Dumbledore.

> "So I *should* be in Slytherin," Harry said, looking desperately into Dumbledore's face. "The Sorting Hat could see Slytherin's power in me, and it—"
>
> "Put you in Gryffindor," said Dumbledore calmly. "Listen to me, Harry. You happen to have many qualities Salazar Slytherin prized in his hand-picked students. Resourcefulness . . . determination . . . a certain disregard for rules," he added, his moustache quivering again. "Yet the Sorting Hat placed you in Gryffindor. You know why that was. Think."
>
> "It only put me in Gryffindor," said Harry in a defeated voice, "Because I asked not to go in Slytherin. . . ."
>
> "Exactly," said Dumbledore, beaming once more. "Which makes you very different from [Voldemort]. It is our choices, Harry, that show what we truly are, far more than our abilities."
>
> Harry sat motionless in his chair, stunned.

Harry is stunned because he realizes for the first time that his confusion has been wrongheaded from the start: he has been asking the question "Who am I at heart?" when he needed to be asking the question "What must I do in order to become what I should be?" His character is not a fixed preexistent thing, but something that he has the responsibility for making: that's why the Greeks called it character, "that which is engraved." It's also what the Germans mean when they speak of *Bildung*, and the Harry Potter books are of course a multivolume *Bildungsroman*—a story of "education," that is to say, of character formation.

In this sense the strong tendency of magic to become a dream of power—on the importance of this point Lynn Thorndike, Keith Thomas, and C. S. Lewis all agree—makes it a wonderful means by which to focus the theme of *Bildung*, of the choices that gradually but inexorably shape us into certain distinct kinds of persons. Christians are perhaps right to be wary of an overly positive portrayal of magic, but the Harry Potter books don't do that: in them magic is often fun, often surprising and exciting, but also always potentially dangerous.

And so, it should be said, is the technology that has resulted from the victory of experimental science. Perhaps the most important question I could ask my Christian friends who mistrust the Harry Potter books is this: is your concern about the portrayal of this imaginary magical technology matched by a concern for the effects of the technology that in our world displaced magic? The technocrats of this world hold in their hands powers almost infinitely greater than those of Albus Dumbledore and Voldemort: how worried are we about them, and their influence over our children? Not worried enough, I would say. As Ellul suggests, the task for us is "the measuring of technique by other criteria than those of technique itself," which measuring he also calls "the search for justice before God." Joanne Rowling's books are more helpful than most in prompting such measurement. They are also—and let's not forget the importance of this point—a great deal of fun. FT

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Books In Review

The Devil's Advocate

HITLER'S POPE: THE SECRET HISTORY OF PIUS XII. By JOHN CORNWELL. *Viking. 430 pp. $29.95.*

***Reviewed by* William D. Rubinstein**

AS PIUS XII, EUGENIO PACELLI was the most controversial of modern Popes. Regarded during his lifetime as truly a prince among men, since his death he has been subject to endless debate, criticism, and defense, especially for his alleged "silence" during the Nazi genocide against the Jews. With limited exceptions, this criticism dates only from the 1960s: *The Deputy*, Rolf Hochhuth's celebrated play of 1963, appeared five years after the death of Pius XII in 1958.

The depiction of Pacelli in *The Deputy* as a heartless, cold cynic who is deaf to any entreaties about the Nazi death camps is remarkably similar to those that have been advanced since. Although John Cornwell's portrayal of Pius is more complex than Hochhuth's, it is clearly written in a similar spirit. On the other hand, Pius has also had many scholarly defenders, especially the distinguished Cambridge historian Owen Chadwick (*Britain and the Vatican During the Second World War*, 1986) and the Israeli Pinchas E. Lapide (*Three Popes and the Jews*, 1967).

ONE INTERESTING FEATURE of the attacks on Pius is that, by and large, they have emanated from non-Jewish sources. Significantly, an impressive list of quotations from contemporary Jewish sources may be adduced *praising* Pacelli's work in saving Jews during the war. Dr. Raffael Cantoni, head of the Italian Jewish community's wartime Jewish Assistance Committee, stated that "six million of my coreligionists have been murdered by the Nazis, but there could have been many more victims had it not been for the efficacious intervention of Pius XII." Moshe Sharett, later Israel's second Prime Minister, met with Pius in the closing stages of the war and said, "I told [him] that my first duty was to thank him, and through him the Catholic Church, on behalf of the Jewish public for all they had done in the various countries to rescue Jews. . . . We are deeply grateful to the Catholic Church." At Pius' death, there was a serious move in Israel to dedicate a forest in his honor, while Golda Meir, Israel's Foreign Minister, eulogized that "when fearful martyrdom came to our people in the decade of Nazi terror, the voice of the Pope was raised for the victims."

This ought to be clearly understood in considering *Hitler's Pope*. The author, a Senior Research Fellow at Jesus College, Cambridge, has written some well-known books on the recent Catholic Church, including *A Thief in the Night: The Death of Pope John Paul I*. Cornwell states that he originally intended to write a biography of Pius XII that "vindicated" him. Given full access to Vatican sources, however, he experienced the "moral shock" of having to write "a wider indictment" of Pacelli's life. His verdict is scathing: Pacelli was "the ideal Pope for Hitler's unspeakable plan. He was Hitler's pawn. He was Hitler's Pope."

Cornwell's book received considerable prepublication publicity in Britain, and my initial instinct was to suppose that, behind the exaggeration suggested by the title, there was a core of truth in the author's indictment. Now that I have read the book I can only say that *Hitler's Pope* is a malign exercise in defamation and character assassination. The author has, in my view, consistently misread and misunderstood both Pacelli's actions and the context in which they occurred.

THE POPE'S VIEWS concerning the Jewish people have to be understood in light of Catholic thought at the time. The Roman Catholic attitude towards the Jews in interwar continental Europe varied from place to place but was generally of a piece. Most Catholic intellectuals and priests thought that there were simply too many Jews in the heavily Catholic countries of Europe and that, because they were largely unassimilable, they stood as enemies of the national aspirations of these countries. Jews, according to this line of Catholic thought, had too much economic influence, were disproportionately involved in Marxism and Freemasonry, and were in general, as bearers of destructive cultural modernism, enemies of Catholic stability and conservative values. Most such critics wanted the majority of Jews to emigrate and some were therefore keen Zionists, although most Catholic leaders opposed Jewish control of the Holy Land. (There were, obviously, exceptions to all these views.)

At the same time, Catholic leaders also shared a number of other attitudes towards Jews, attitudes frequently overlooked by historians of anti-Semitism. They regularly drew a distinction between "good Jews"—those they knew at first hand—and "bad Jews," who generally lived elsewhere. Whatever their prejudices, they virtually always opposed violence or pogroms against defenseless Jews. In interwar Poland, for example, a land of intense anti-Semitism, even the most anti-Jewish elements of the Catholic press almost invariably condemned violence of the sort found in Nazi Germany or among extremist nationalist elements in

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Poland. *Maly Dziennik*, an anti-Semitic Catholic paper, offered this typical comment in June 1935: "We should lead the struggle against the Jewish flood in a Christian way, without hatred and without committing outrages." The effect of Catholic thought in continental Europe was thus indirectly to foment hostility toward Jews but sincerely to deplore violence against them, a dichotomy generally consistent with Catholic attitudes towards the Jews going back to the Middle Ages.

In the atmosphere of murderous racial anti-Semitism created by the rise of Nazi Germany, Catholic teaching on and practice toward the Jews, as deplorable at first glance as it now seems, actually deterred and diminished violence against the Jews, and almost always encouraged efforts at saving lives. Before and during the Second World War, clericalist-dominated regimes regularly enacted anti-Semitic legislation, but nearly always drew the line at genocide. No such regime would willingly have participated in the actual mass murder of the Jews had it any choice in the matter, although of course there were many individuals in the governments and the bureaucracies of these regimes who directly took part in the Final Solution.

THIS CATHOLIC RELUCTANCE to facilitate genocide lies at the root of the fact—one particularly relevant to a consideration of *Hitler's Pope*—that the survival rates for Jews in Catholic countries were almost invariably higher than for Jews who found themselves under Nazi occupation elsewhere. Probably the most striking example of this may be found in a comparison of Jewish losses in Catholic Belgium as compared with the largely Protestant Netherlands. In the Netherlands, approximately 104,000 of 140,000 Jews living there in 1939 perished, the highest percentage of any Jewish community in Western Europe. In adjacent Belgium, it seems probable that "only" about 28,000 of 90,000 Jews perished. In other words, 31 percent of Belgian Jewry perished, compared with 74 percent in the Netherlands, despite the latter's justified reputation as a bastion of liberalism and tolerance. In France, despite the viciousness of the Vichy regime, it is usually estimated that about 78,000 of 300,000 Jews (26 percent) perished, nearly all stateless or foreign Jews who had come to France as refugees. In Italy, there were no deportations at all until the German invasion of September 1943. About 7,700 of Italy's Jewish population of 44,500 (17 percent) perished in the Holocaust.

This pattern may be found almost everywhere. The great exception is Catholic Poland, where probably 2.5 million of 3.2 million Jews perished. But this occurred not because of the actions of Poland's Catholics but because, unlike elsewhere, Nazi Germany ruled Poland directly rather than through a puppet government. The SS played the predominant role in dealing with Jews. In Nazi eyes, the Poles were barely one up from the Jews, an inferior helot people who could not enjoy even a quisling government of their own. It is also worth noting that, despite the endemic anti-Semitism of the Poles as of 1939, up to 100,000 Polish Jews were given shelter by Catholic Poles during the war.

The dramatically higher survival rate for Jews in Catholic Europe brings us to the central question in evaluating Pius XII and his response to the Holocaust. Can it be that, with all its frustrations, inadequacies, and apparent failures, the policy of "silence" pursued by Pacelli was actually the most effective possible, given Hitler's obsessive and overriding intention to kill every Jew in Europe? A thought experiment may help here. Suppose that Pacelli had done everything that Cornwell would wish—made visible and vocal statements condemning Nazism, excommunicated all Catholic Nazis, even died a martyr's death in a concentration camp. What then? Almost certainly, more Jews would have perished than was actually the case.

Cornwell documents the fact that in September 1943 Hitler was at the point of kidnapping Pius XII and taking him to Germany or to neutral Liechtenstein (a fact very much at odds with the insinuation of the book's title). It is well-known that many in the SS were eager to launch an all-out offensive against the so-called "Black International." With Pacelli out of the way, is it not more likely that a weak and leaderless

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Church would have been less able to protect and save Jews than it was? Would not individual clergymen and religious institutions have had vastly more difficulty in hiding and sheltering Jews than they actually did?

CORNWELL SINGLES OUT two aspects of Pacelli's response to the Holocaust for special condemnation: his alleged inertia during the deportation of over 2,000 Jews of Rome to Auschwitz in September-October 1943, and his alleged lack of resolute action over the mass deportation of Hungarian Jewry to Auschwitz in May-July 1944, the last great act of Nazi genocide. The actions of Pacelli appear very different, however, if considered in more detail.

There were 12,800 Jews in Rome in 1938 and still about 12,000 in early 1943. By September many had fled, leaving about 8,000. Roughly 1,000 were rounded up in September 1943 and another 1,000 a month later. Cornwell states that "an unspecified number of Rome's remaining Jews escaped arrest because they went into hiding in the Vatican-protected 'extraterritorial' religious institutions in Rome, including Vatican City itself." The number is actually well-known: about 5,000 of the 8,000 Jews of Rome found shelter in this manner. In other words, it would appear that five-sixths of Rome's prewar Jewish population managed to survive, chiefly because of Catholic assistance.

In Hungary, several hundred thousand Jews were deported to their deaths in an incredibly brief period of time, May 15 to July 8, 1944. This final notable instance of genocide was organized with conveyor-belt precision by Adolf Eichmann. Although Cornwell concedes that "Pacelli's initiatives in Hungary and elsewhere no doubt contributed to Catholic rescue efforts," nevertheless "his protest was too late to prevent the nearly half-million Jews being deported from the provinces" (i.e., from rural Hungary; the Jews of Budapest were not deported).

The truth, however, is rather different. In the first place, Cornwell mistakenly says that Hungary's ruler, Admiral Miklos Horthy (1868-1957), was a Catholic; in fact he was Calvinist. Needless to say, Horthy thus did not regard the Pope as Christ's vicar on earth. Secondly, Pacelli did indeed appeal to Horthy to stop the deportations, on June 25, 1944. Horthy agreed to Hitler's direct demand for deportation of the Jews under the impression that they were being used as laborers in German factories. A long list of foreign and Hungarian

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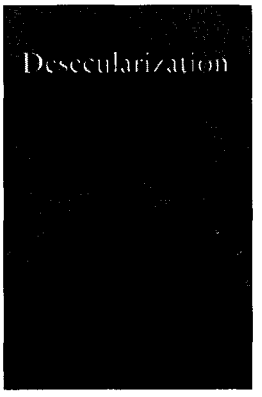

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sources, however, repeatedly made the truth known to him between March and July 1944 and urged him to end the deportations. Some of these urgings came before Pacelli's, some after. If the Pope's protest was "too late," even later were those of Franklin Roosevelt, the International Red Cross, King Gustaf of Sweden, and the Jewish Agency in Palestine (headed by David Ben-Gurion). Horthy finally ended the deportations on July 8.

Most importantly, it is almost certainly the case that had Horthy acted earlier, the Nazis would simply have ignored his decision and staged a coup, installing a pro-Nazi extremist in his place. Indeed, the Germans did orchestrate just such a coup in mid-October, when Ferenc Szalasi, the leader of the pro-Nazi Arrow Cross, became Prime Minister. It is exceedingly difficult to see what Pacelli could conceivably have done to alter this terrible course of events. It is also the fact, as Cornwell grudgingly admits, that Catholic representatives in Hungary, especially Angelo Rotta, the Papal Nuncio, were extremely active on behalf of the Jews.

THE POINT TO BE EMPHASIZED is this: the power of the Pope, or Roosevelt, or anybody else to deter Hitler from genocide was extraordinarily limited, given his hegemony over the continent. To concentrate on the actions of the Pope or the Allies is to overlook the central moral fact that it was Hitler and the Nazis who carried out the Holocaust and who bear full and complete responsibility for everything that happened. For too many historians, the Nazis appear in accounts of the Holocaust as some inexplicable force of nature whose destructive powers it is pointless to question, while criticism focuses on the alleged inadequacies of those who could not prevent the slaughter. That this is utterly unfair should be evident, yet library shelves are filled with works on the "failures" of the Allies, as they are with works critical of Pacelli. At the very best such books deflect attention from the real criminals; at worst they imply a moral equivalency between mass murderers and those who tried, whether effectively or not, to stop them.

The part of the book not concerned with the Holocaust consists of a highly tendentious account of Pacelli's life. Space prohibits more than one or two examples of Cornwell's biases. Not only did Pacelli acquiesce in the Holocaust, it also seems, according to the author, that

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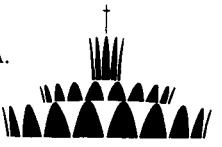

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he virtually started World War I as well. In case this achievement had passed you by, Pacelli is culpable because of the Serbian Concordat that he was chiefly responsible for negotiating in the months of 1914 just prior to the war. Under this treaty, Serbia granted control of the Catholic religion in new areas of the Balkans it had acquired in the Balkan wars directly to the Vatican, rather than (as Austria-Hungary wished) granting Austria extraterritorial control *within Serbia* over Catholic interests. According to Cornwell, this inflamed Austrian nationalists and "represented a contribution to the tensions that led the Austrian government to overplay its hand" in the summer of 1914.

There are two points to be made here. First, if the Concordat had met Austrian demands for extraterritorial powers in Serbia, would this not have inflamed *Serbian* nationalists? And surely a neutral guardian of Catholic rights in Serbia like the Vatican represented a progressive, international solution to this dilemma. Secondly, the causes of the outbreak of the First World War were manifold, stretching back to the origins of the alliance system thirty years earlier. A regional conflict escalated into a worldwide catastrophe because of ambitions and misperceptions among all of the nations of Europe. It is, to put it mildly, extremely doubtful that the Serbian Concordat had a significant role in the outbreak of the war. One wonders, for instance, if Britain's leaders even so much as heard of the Serbian Concordat. Cornwell's view of the role of the Concordat is simply absurd. Most of the other charges he levels at Pacelli are similar: seemingly damaging, but almost always taken out of context and exaggerated. It is as if Cornwell were playing the devil's advocate in the campaign against Pacelli's canonization. He is anything but evenhanded and has written a most unbalanced account of the man's life.

IT SEEMS CLEAR from the last chapters of the book that *Hitler's Pope* is, as much as anything else, an attack upon the conservative trends within the Catholic Church today, those trends of which Pacelli was probably the foremost exemplar in this century. Thus, much of the last chapters consists of tittle-tattle aimed at demonstrating Pacelli's "eccentricity," "narrow[ness] . . . in outlook," "hypochondria," and other weaknesses. Even if these strictures do indeed contain a measure of truth, what do they all add up to? Similar charges could very likely be made about John Cornwell. Of course, to be sure, he is not a candidate for sainthood.

Pulling Back the Curtain

DRAGON IN A THREE-PIECE SUIT: THE EMERGENCE OF CAPITALISM IN CHINA. By DOUG GUTHRIE. *Princeton University Press. 302 pp. $39.95.*

***Reviewed by* William McGurn**

IN THE FAMOUS ACCOUNT he gave of his twenty-four years away from his native Venice, Marco Polo was not above embellishment: the gold and silver said to line the walls of Kublai Kahn's palace, the Basci enchanters who moved goblets filled with drink from the hall to the table without touching them, the diamond hunters in the Kingdom of Mutfili. Yet even these were not enough for the artists who illustrated the various editions of his work. Drawing from existing myths and legends—men with heads like dogs, or men with no heads, whose faces were on their breasts—they adorned Polo's work with even more fabulous tableaux.

As we smile our twentieth-century smiles at such ingenuousness, we do well to note we have not improved much over the centuries, notwithstanding our considerable advantages. In the heat of the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s, when Mao had the Chinese people smelting iron in their own backyards from their pots and pans, Western accounts were dominated by tributes to the superiority of New Maoist Man's economics. A generation later, China has opted for something called "market socialism with Chinese characteristics," and the American Chamber of Commerce types who collect Mao buttons are wowed because Jiang Zemin has memorized a few lines of the Gettysburg Address. Not to mention the anti-trade faction—many of whom have never set foot in China—whose speeches, articles, and newsletters portray the Chinese religious landscape as nothing but one long Neroian purge.

The usual course for a reviewer is to present the truth as lying somewhere between two extremes. I have done it myself at times. Alas, the truth of modern China is not in the middle; it is somewhere in the messy and oft-contradictory details of Chinese life, which has itself become exponentially more complicated since the bankruptcy of traditional Marxist solutions forced Deng Xiaoping to make increasing compromises with such hitherto taboo principles as profit and self-reliance. Everywhere in China the physical manifestations of this new openness still jolt, from the Leonardo DiCaprio posters that dominate the sidewalk vendors even in a third-rate provincial capital such as Nanchang to the golden arches of McDonalds, which loom on Tiananmen Square across from the rostrum where a triumphant Mao proclaimed the People's Republic.

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IN *Dragon in a Three-Piece Suit: The Emergence of Capitalism in China*, Doug Guthrie takes a stab at separating illusion from reality. His subject matter is admittedly narrow: the huge industrial firms based in Shanghai, many of them state-owned, which he takes to be the engine driving China's transformation. Leave aside for a moment that the author appears blind to an entirely different supposition, to wit, that these industries today constitute the chief obstacle to change. Leave aside too that his sociological bias—organizational theory—compels him in the direction of the industrial giants. Far more interesting are his findings: that the changes are real and "extend far beyond the economic sphere where they began." Indeed, perhaps most remarkable is his assertion that even changes adopted for largely cosmetic reasons end up having tremendous, largely positive, consequences.

The thrust of Guthrie's book is to argue that the neoclassical model of rational agents all pursuing the maximization of profit is too abstract for a China in transition between communism and the market. Again, this is a narrow point. I'm not sure, for example, that even the most neoclassical economist would argue that every single agent in a business entity, from the shipping clerk and the secretary to the floor manager and factory owner, is always and everywhere guided by the drive to maximize profit. More important than why they may do things is where their actions are taking them. And here Guthrie argues that "Chinese managers hanging up their traditional Communist Party uniforms" in favor of "a sleek set of threads that would place any Western boardroom at ease" are, in the process, imposing changes in the structure, organization, and management of their firms that bring them closer to the capitalist model.

At this point the argument sounds an awful lot like Adam Smith's invisible hand. At times the reader wishes it were. For this is a decidedly sociological tract, grimly determined to add up detail after detail in as clinical a fashion as possible. Managers are interviewed, factories are visited, and numbers are crunched, yielding tables and conclusions as dry as any investment guide produced by the Guangdong Board of Investment. Fortunately the book is leavened by the observations of the managers themselves, such as this one from a Chinese lawyer:

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> The most difficult part is changing the way people think. You Americans, as you grow up, become used to a legalistic way of thinking. You know the laws and you understand them. But this is not the case with the Chinese. We have grown up knowing one thing: Always listen to your leader. Changing the way people think about these things is the most difficult task of a developing nation. It takes a great amount of time; many things must be changed for a significant amount of time before people will start to think in a different way.

GUTHRIE IS PRETTY CLEAR that the major influence behind recent developments in China is economic uncertainty coupled with foreign investment. Because Chinese managers can no longer count on automatic bailouts from the government, they are scrambling for new ways of survival. Foreign capital is one easy answer. For one thing, it provides cash. For another, it brings technology, often more valuable than the cash itself.

Proclaiming a market, moreover, is one thing, and the actual implementation another. Here Guthrie's focus on the sociology of investment provides a perspective not always evident in the standard texts on trade and reform. For unlike press reports and political debates that consider reform in the abstract, Guthrie always and everywhere remembers that we are talking about specific organizations with a history (industrial policy), an ownership structure (often the state or some government entity), and a managerial force that frequently has different priorities from those of a Wharton grad (e.g., colonies of retired workers for whom the factory still provides housing and livelihood).

Often, he says, the result is that Chinese managers ape Western practices less because they think this the way to maximize profit than to attract foreign capital. In other words, evolution rather than revolution. Still, the effects can be far-reaching: on China's legal arrangements, on new mechanisms to handle worker grievances, on the devolution of authority from central to local governments. And Guthrie does not even consider the liberating effects that come from people providing for their own housing, their own health care, their own education, etc.

These are side benefits and not

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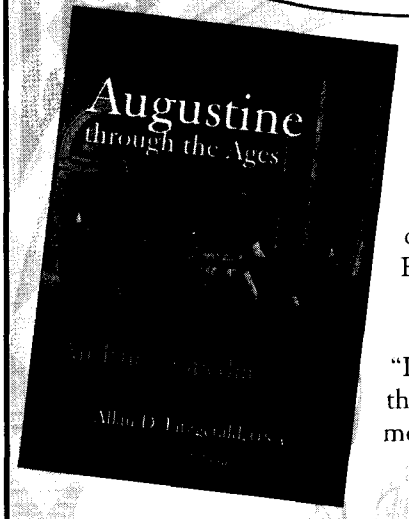

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without their costs; probably no Chinese who suddenly finds himself without a pension and apartment is going to be consoled to learn that this is a painful part of reform. Although Guthrie doesn't address it, these mounting internal contradictions today represent the key challenge to China's leadership. For the initial marketing openings allowed a number of new industries to bloom but did not address the inefficiencies of the large, state-owned enterprises. That meant almost all gain with no pain. But now these latter are becoming an obstacle because they squander resources better spent elsewhere, jeopardize the financial system, and threaten to unload a lot of superfluous people on a system not yet equipped to take care of them.

INDEED, IN TERMS OF unintended consequences, the benefits that come from a state turning ever more to market solutions owes more to desperation than planning. Still, the outcome will surely be a China whose government has less and less control over people's lives because it has less control over their livelihoods. Remember that it was the work unit (housed, fed, and treated on the company grounds) that helped give the state the control to enforce their one-child policies, through such means as listing the menses of female workers on a drawing board. The "problem with the perspectives surrounding the trade debate is the assumption that trade should be the reward for legal and institutional change when, in fact, economic exchanges may be the very engine—or at least a key component—that is driving the system toward the rational institutional structure that is so desired." That includes a respect for workers' rights, which is always a long time coming in a workers' republic.

Dragon in a Three-Piece Suit is not for everyone. Its academic style and presentation has none of the color of the China books featured in chain bookstores, and its empiricism rarely allows the work's attention to extend into areas of public policy such as Most Favored Nation status and the debate between rights and trade. Yet in its own way and on its own terms it pulls back a bit of the China curtain, in a way that is more interesting, I confess, than I had at first expected. I'm not sure Guthrie has established, as he appears to believe, that sociology trumps economics in terms of the incentives at play in China today. But if I read him correctly about the direction in which they are both headed, it may not really matter.

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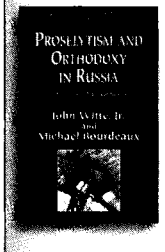

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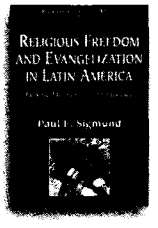

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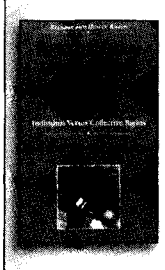

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SAINT AUGUSTINE. By GARRY WILLS. *Penguin Books. 152 pp. $19.95.*

***Reviewed by* John Peter Kenney**

AUGUSTINOPHOBIA, the fear and loathing of Augustine, is a long-standing malady. The condition has never been confined only to the secular despisers of Christianity. Indeed, in this century, symptoms have been observed among theologians as well as anti-theologians. This is not really surprising. Having been the universal template of Latin Christian theology down through the centuries, it was inevitable that Augustine would become a touchstone of opprobrium as theological and cultural fashions shifted. In many respects it has been modern theolo-

JOHN PETER KENNEY *is Dean of the College and Professor of Religious Studies at Saint Michael's College, Vermont.*

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gians who have been hardest on him, projecting him as the grim Patriarch of Latin Christendom, pathologically obsessed with sex, championing an ascetical dualism rooted in misogyny, and consigning unbaptized infants to eternal perdition.

To write on Augustine with any balance, or even sympathy, requires considerable independence. Peter Brown did so thirty years ago in his famous biography, although that effort succeeded splendidly in part because Brown used Augustine to paint a pointillistic image of his age. But the Augustine who emerged was more a late antique figure, and less a theologian. Even so, Brown was able to recover a vivid actor on the stage of late Roman life, whose insolent genius as a rhetorician brought him from the edge of the Sahara to the height of the Imperial Court. For such a finely wrought story, many were willing to leave aside the dreary struggle over Augustine's theological positions.

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GARRY WILLS IS VERY MUCH in the Brown tradition. And we should be grateful to him for supplying in this short "Penguin Life" a delightful and insightful introduction to Augustine. As in Brown, the great spaces and dazzling light of Roman North Africa emerge, along with the agonized ambition of this provincial prodigy, whose relentless rise to conspicuous success ends with his momentous conversion. And what a perplexing event that is. Born of a pagan father and Catholic mother, in an area heavily populated by members of the Donatist sect, Augustine spent most of his early adulthood as a devotee of Manicheism, a Christian heresy. This phase ended when he discovered the most powerful intellectual tradition of late antiquity, pagan Platonism. Yet in forsaking Manicheism, he became, not a pagan Platonist, but a Catholic Christian. And not just a comfortable lay member—as his mother and family entourage expected—for he insisted on rejecting the easy path of marriage to a Catholic heiress in favor of a life of asceticism.

To make sense of this trajectory across so remote a cultural landscape requires great insight into time and place and character. Wills offers much to his reader, bringing some impressive detective work to bear on many of the puzzling details of Augustine's story. He is especially concerned to refute some of the charges against Augustine, especially in reference to his sexual adventures, which, in Wills' recounting, emerge as far less bizarre and lurid than in

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some of the more imaginative accounts. The two mistresses and the love child are still there, but against the context of Roman sexual mores, Augustine's story is more ethically intelligible. This is the great strength of the book: its author's consistent effort to probe, contextualize, and judiciously assess.

THAT SAID, THERE ARE TWO shortcomings that bear mention: one minor, the other more serious. The misdemeanor is the sometimes eccentric revisionism that Wills brings to the names and players in this story. Never content to use the standard tags, Wills transposes and, when it seems necessary, invents. Thus Adeodatus, Augustine's son, becomes "Godsend," Romanianus is now "Romanian," an unnamed friend whose death Augustine mourned becomes "Amicus," the sole mistress of much of his early life is called "Una," etc. Nor are the standard titles safe: *Soliloquies* is now *Dialogue with Myself*, while *Confessions* becomes *The Testimony*. Admittedly Wills often has a valid caveat to record, yet the undergraduate instructor in me dreads the inevitable confusion all this will cause the introductory readers for whom this volume is designed.

A larger issue is signaled by the transition from *Confessions* to *The Testimony*. Wills wants to remove any sense of either criminal confessing or penitential admission of sins, preferring to view Augustine as underscoring his witness to God through the title. Fair enough. But the promise of this revision goes unfulfilled, in large measure because Wills persists in underplaying the theological ideas that drive Augustine's inventive act of autobiographical witness.

However translated, Augustine's story is not just a personal testimony, but a performative act of self-abnegation. Augustine contrasts very sharply the presumption of the pagan Platonist sages, who are assured that salvation can be achieved by personal initiative, with the Christian admission that no salvation is possible except through divine mediation. That is the act of *confessio* which Augustine uses to explain his need to become an orthodox Christian, and then to write about it for all to hear. This act is thus the rooting out of *superbia*, the pride that occasioned the soul's fall. It is the initial remedy for original sin. Unlike the pagan Platonists, who presumed to reverse the soul's captivity in the body by the practice of philosophy, Augustine saw that only a continual oblation of the soul's self-love, under the influence of grace, would bring about its restoration. "Testimony" is too thin a conception to grasp the central theological force of Augustine's title.

THIS IS A MICROCOSM of the larger issue in Wills' book—its lack of attention to the motive force of theological ideas. The dogmas of a now quiet past may seem remote, but they must be made to reverberate again with the katabatic forces that drove Augustine's soul across the religious landscape of late antiquity. This Wills simply fails to do. Manicheism, that strange dualism of Persian origin, is hardly explained. And Platonism, the key to Augustine's stunning shift from Manichean materialism to Christian mysticism, is largely ignored. But Augustine without theology is like Mozart without the music. Granted that Wills takes us through the main biographical twists and turns with skill. But the theological ideas are never fully engaged, nor are the awesome stakes—as Augustine understood them—explored.

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We are left, then, with a tale that fails to offend, and may even engage the reader who is intrigued by this late Roman witness to the Empire's collapse. Wills has succeeded in making it difficult for the contemporary reader to hold Augustine's iniquities against him. But he has also, in his neglect of theology, foreclosed any real opportunity to comprehend those visionary insights into the divine and the eternal that mattered most to Augustine, and stamped Western Christendom with his intense transcendentalist cast.

Victim Status for All

STIFFED: THE BETRAYAL OF THE AMERICAN MAN. By SUSAN FALUDI. *William Morrow. 662 pp. $27.50.*

Reviewed by **Marjorie Rosenberg**

SEEKING TO CREATE, in her new magnum opus, a canvas rivaling in scope those of Balzac and Dickens, Susan Faludi offered herself as compassionate auditor to American males over a six-year period. The result of all this listening, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*, manifests a change in her original assumptions, she says. But in her selection of subjects—Promise Keepers and porn stars, ex-shipyard and aircraft workers, Vietnam veterans and militiamen, notorious street gang figures and members of the Spur Posse—Miss Faludi shaped her conclusions before she had conducted her interviews, revealing more about contemporary journalism than about the reality of men's choices.

Miss Faludi's universe begins with the post-World War II generation, and the internal evidence of the book shows little awareness of a historical process prior to the New Deal, although her implicit theoretical assumptions derive from Marx and Freud. Miss Faludi's preconceptions go unacknowledged: we are meant to think that the truth has been made known to her by the almost uniformly unhappy and unsuccessful men who were asked to share their stories. And the overarching truth she uncovered through so much note taking in so many drab and cheerless settings is that white heterosexual males—the oppressive villains of radical secularist orthodoxy—are victims too. Miss Faludi's achievement is to universalize victim status.

HOW, THEN, have American men been betrayed? Neither a cultural historian nor a theorist, Faludi draws upon her ideology for explanation. She dislikes contemporary conceptions of masculinity, and traditional ones too, but she fails to examine such conceptions or to trace a historical change, except in cursory asides to her vignettes. Her closest approximation to social analysis is in occasional brief and vaporous passages comparing the present plight of males to that of women before the dawn of the feminist movement of the sixties. It is, you see, the System that is to blame—what she infelicitously terms the "ornamental culture"—sketchily portrayed in derivative and superficial comments about our celebrity-oriented consumer society. It is not that this particular intellectual cliché does not continue to deserve serious scrutiny, but rather that *Stiffed* provides none.

More importantly, Miss Faludi acknowledges the profound impact of feminism on the lives of American males over the last thirty-five years only in passages at the beginning and end of the book calling for men and women to work together toward the new utopia. What resources are to be mobilized, and in what manner, are questions left unaddressed, or perhaps purposely hidden. Like a fellow traveler of the thirties, Miss Faludi is very cautious about revealing her agenda.

But the contrast between Miss Faludi's mocking and uncomprehending treatment of the Promise Keepers' search for meaning and her sympathetic depiction of a male

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porn actor's struggle to stay afloat financially indicates both her unacknowledged political allegiances and her moral numbness. Porn actors are portrayed rather like unemployed corporate workers, their choice of career unquestioned, their difficulties blamed on the system in which they work rather than on any internal emptiness.

It seems that what males are hired for in pornographic films is to ejaculate on camera for what is called the "money shot," which is the crucial event of the film. The ability to perform this task on demand with a machine-like indifference to external circumstances or internal feelings is not widely distributed even among the willing male population. Thus males, whose performance is unpredictable and who are in any case secondary attractions for the heterosexual audience of the films, earn far less money than female porn stars, whose appeal is largely visual and whose standard of performance can be counted on. Miss Faludi elaborates on the plight of the male porn star in a long section focused mostly on his limited earning capacity and the disrespect with which he is treated, rather as if she were decrying workplace discrimination against blacks and women.

MISS FALUDI EXCHANGES her compassion for porn stars for irony, direct criticism, and passages of political harangue when the discussion switches to the Promise Keepers. Their attempts to adhere, however inconsistently, to a religious tradition she vigorously faults as a failure of political engagement, negatively contrasting this contemporary men's movement with the Social Gospel movement that arose early in the century. The earlier crusade earns her praise for projecting "a radical critique of capitalism" with a "vision [that] foregrounded Christ's workingman status."

From Christ as workingman Faludi proceeds to a hasty and confused foray among authorities ranging from the twelfth-century churchman Bernard of Clairvaux to various feminists and social scientists in an effort to discover the psychological purposes served by the various images of Christ. After spending a few pages exploring the meaning and history of Christianity, she declares that "the form of Christianity has proved exceedingly mutable as has the image of Christ himself." Further, "all of these images were shaped as much by worldly forces as by the religious imagination." Thus she affirms her own strongly implied position that

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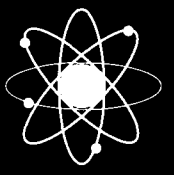

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religion should serve politics.

MISS FALUDI SPEAKS in her own voice only on the subject closest to her heart—the social construction of gender. Again, the weight of anecdote and quotations embellished with dramatic metaphor provides the imagery for her underlying theme: men have been victimized by a faulty definition of manhood that demands the pursuit of victory. Seeing the world in terms of a Marxian power struggle, she perceives the goals of success and excellence as an effort at "winning" that must be abandoned.

Thus Miss Faludi is drawn to the sexually transgressive, to the men who have decidedly rejected traditional masculinity. She accepts gay activist Martin Duberman's assessment of drag queens as the heroes of the Stonewall revolution, the 1969 riots in New York City credited with sparking the contemporary gay liberation movement. This heroism consisted not primarily in physical resistance to police raids on a homosexual bar, but in their confrontation with "the whole binary idea of gender." That confrontation is celebrated by Faludi and attributed by her to sources in feminism as well as gay liberation. She laments the transvestites' later rejection by many gay activists seeking to modify their public image. But she does not deal with the fact that the drag queens make manifest a major purpose of mainstream gay activism, although she quotes approvingly anthropologist Esther Newton: "The effect of the drag system is to wrench the sex roles loose from that which supposedly determines them, genital sex."

In a concluding peroration, Miss Faludi raises the question: "Why don't contemporary men rise up in protest against their betrayal?" She muses that "the male paradigm of confrontation" is peculiarly unsuited to mounting a challenge to men's predicament because men have no clearly defined enemy who is opposing them. What has not occurred to her is that women are increasingly becoming the enemy: the growing hostility between men and women goes unremarked in this six-hundred-page book.

While ostensibly eschewing "the male paradigm of confrontation," Faludi thinks in terms of male mobilization, a political mechanism for confrontation. The preeminent contemporary example of such a mobilization is, she says, gay men's response to AIDS. Detailing the networks of mutual support they have

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built, she ignores completely the dark side of this effort. Gay men have vigorously fought off the only public health measures that could significantly contain the spread of AIDS—contact tracing and testing of partners—methods long used for syphilis and other sexually transmitted afflictions. In the same way they have for the most part opposed the closing of the gay bathhouses that are breeding grounds for the disease and have often made their fundraising parties for AIDS research opportunities for the promiscuous sex that is the disease's primary cause.

Homosexual activists like the playwright Larry Kramer and the writer Gabriel Rotello, author of *Sexual Ecology*—an important weaving together of ecology theory, epidemiology, and sexual politics—have been ferociously attacked by their fellow gay activists for publicly acknowledging that AIDS results as much from human behaviors as from specific microbes.

FALUDI'S SUPPORT for gay liberation, denying so much of its reality, is grounded, it appears, in her enthusiasm for destabilizing sex roles. Such a program has as its ultimate consequence a lessening of interest in human reproduction and thus a rending of the intergenerational bond that is the essence of civilized society. In our culture of narcissism, feminists have joined with gay activists in rebelling against this bond, and their rebellion is the key to the betrayal of the American man.

A Tragic Conflict

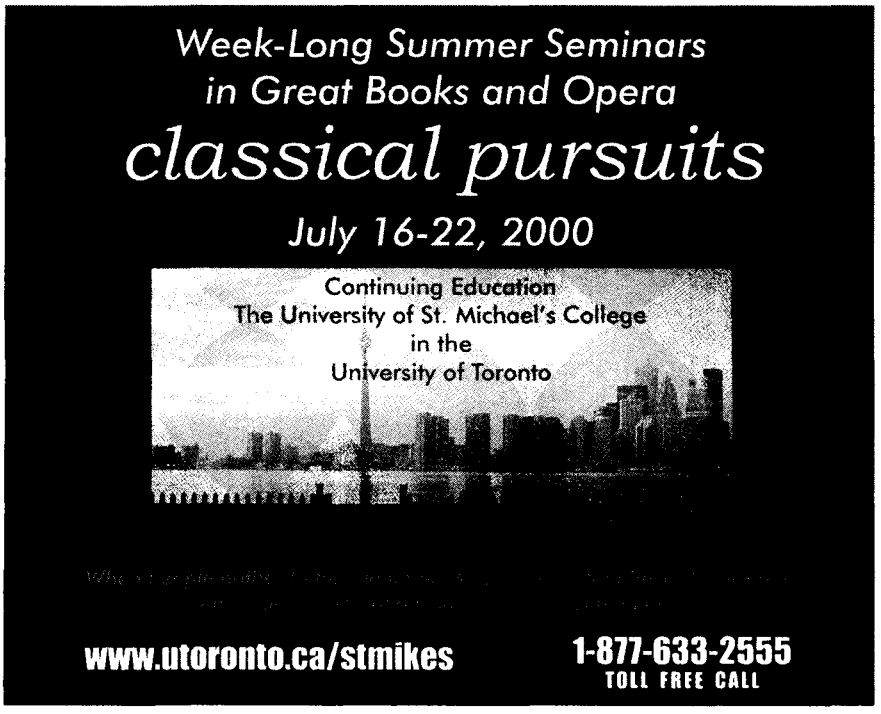
THE TWILIGHT OF THE INTELLECTUALS: CULTURE AND POLITICS IN THE ERA OF THE COLD WAR. By HILTON KRAMER. *Ivan R. Dee. 363 pp. $27.50.*

***Reviewed by* Gregory Wolfe**

IN THE SUMMER OF 1952, Hilton Kramer's life took a fateful turn. While attending a program known as the "School of Letters" in Indiana—where he had gone to study Dante with Allen Tate and Shakespeare with Francis Fergusson—the young Kramer met Philip Rahv, one of the founding editors of *Partisan Review*. *Partisan Review* was then in its heyday as one of America's leading journals of politics and culture, decidedly left of center and yet consistently anti-Stalinist. A few months after meeting Rahv, Kramer submitted an essay to *Partisan Review* on the contemporary art scene, and to Kramer's amazement, Rahv accepted it. As Kramer recalls in one of the essays collected in *The Twilight of the Intellectuals*, it was his debut as an art critic, "and I quickly discovered that, owing to the intellectual authority which *PR* then enjoyed, publication in the magazine was in itself a ticket to a career I wasn't yet certain that I wanted." But on the basis of this article, offers poured in for him to write for other publications, and Kramer did embrace the life of an intellectual. It is a role that he continues to ply, with verve and distinction, to the present day.

If Kramer experienced any sort of honeymoon in his early days as a cultural critic, however, it didn't last long. As Kramer progressed through the 1950s and 1960s, he confronted an increasingly painful dichotomy: on the one hand, his brilliance as an art critic propelled him toward the center of the cultural establishment (he eventually became chief art critic of the *New York Times*); on the other hand, his political and moral concerns estranged him from the growing radicalism of the intellectual class that controlled the establishment. Kramer was repulsed by the increasing number of leftists who had become apologists for the Soviet Union, which he saw as a clear and present danger to the United States and to free societies around the world. At the same time, he was among the first to recognize that a larger "cultural revolution" (headquartered in the academy) was tak-

GREGORY WOLFE *is the publisher and editor of* Image: A Journal of the Arts and Religion *and the director of the Center for Religious Humanism.*



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ing shape, replacing the tradition of Western humanism with the reductivist ideologies of race, class, and gender.

And so Kramer joined a group of distinguished defectors from liberal ranks who called themselves neoconservatives. In 1981 he founded the *New Criterion*, a journal that reflects both his passion for art and aesthetic standards and his skills as a chronicler of the ideological follies so abundant in the academy and other centers of cultural power today.

THE ESSAYS GATHERED in *The Twilight of the Intellectuals*, most of which were first published in the *New Criterion*, constitute a mordant retrospective on what Julien Benda early in the twentieth century called *la trahison des clercs*—the treason committed by modern intellectuals (who were mostly middle-class writers, scholars, and artists) against the principles and institutions that had nurtured them. *The Twilight of the Intellectuals*, Kramer adds, "is also, perforce, about the impact of the 1930s and the 1960s—the two decades in which the political left achieved its greatest intellectual influence in this country."

The book is divided into five sections, some of which emphasize "politics" while others focus more on "culture." Among the intellectuals treated are the Bloomsbury Group, George Orwell, Edmund Wilson, Jean-Paul Sartre, Irving Howe, Lincoln Kirstein, and Meyer Schapiro. Several pieces revolve around the Hiss-Chambers case, and the final section reflects on the fate of "liberal anti-communism" as found in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the *New Republic*, and *Partisan Review*.

Since this is territory that has been well covered in recent years—in biographies of the principal players, as well as in numerous volumes of history and political analysis—the question naturally arises: what does Kramer have to say that sheds new light on the subject? A crude answer to that question would be: not much. Despite the comprehensive tone of its subtitle, *The Twilight of the Intellectuals* comprises a series of set pieces rather than a systematic survey. While some of the essays are based on first-hand knowledge and original research, most are not. And, as is the case with most essay collections, this book has the inevitable redundancies and *longueurs*.

ONE NONETHELESS FINDS many pleasures and insights in the book. On reading several of these pieces con-

Is the Christian hope a reasonable one, or

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Why did Jesus' family think He was out of His mind and try to restrain Him? (Mark 3:21 NIV)

Why did many of His contemporaries think He was raving mad? (John 10:20)

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Was Freud right when he diagnosed believing Christians as victims of obsessional neurosis?

How valid are Anton Boisen's insights into the mirror-image relationship of mental illness and religious experience?

Has the quest for the historical Jesus finally ended in a lunatic asylum?

Why do many Christians find these questions deeply disturbing or highly offensive, or both, and refuse to face then or even acknowledge them?

Is this why committed Christians are considered irrelevant, even dangerous, by so many educated people today?

Do these questions need, or deserve, to be answered? If you think they do you may find help in ***The Gospel According to Jerry***, a recent case history of Christian experience diagnosed as mental illness, or mental illness interpreted as Christian experience. How you interpret it will almost certainly influence your answers to the above questions.

You may request a copy of this book from **Latter Rain Publishing House, 808 Pin Oak Lane, Park Forest, IL 60466-3003**, a non-profit ministry to the body of Christ ($13 suggested donation, check or money order).

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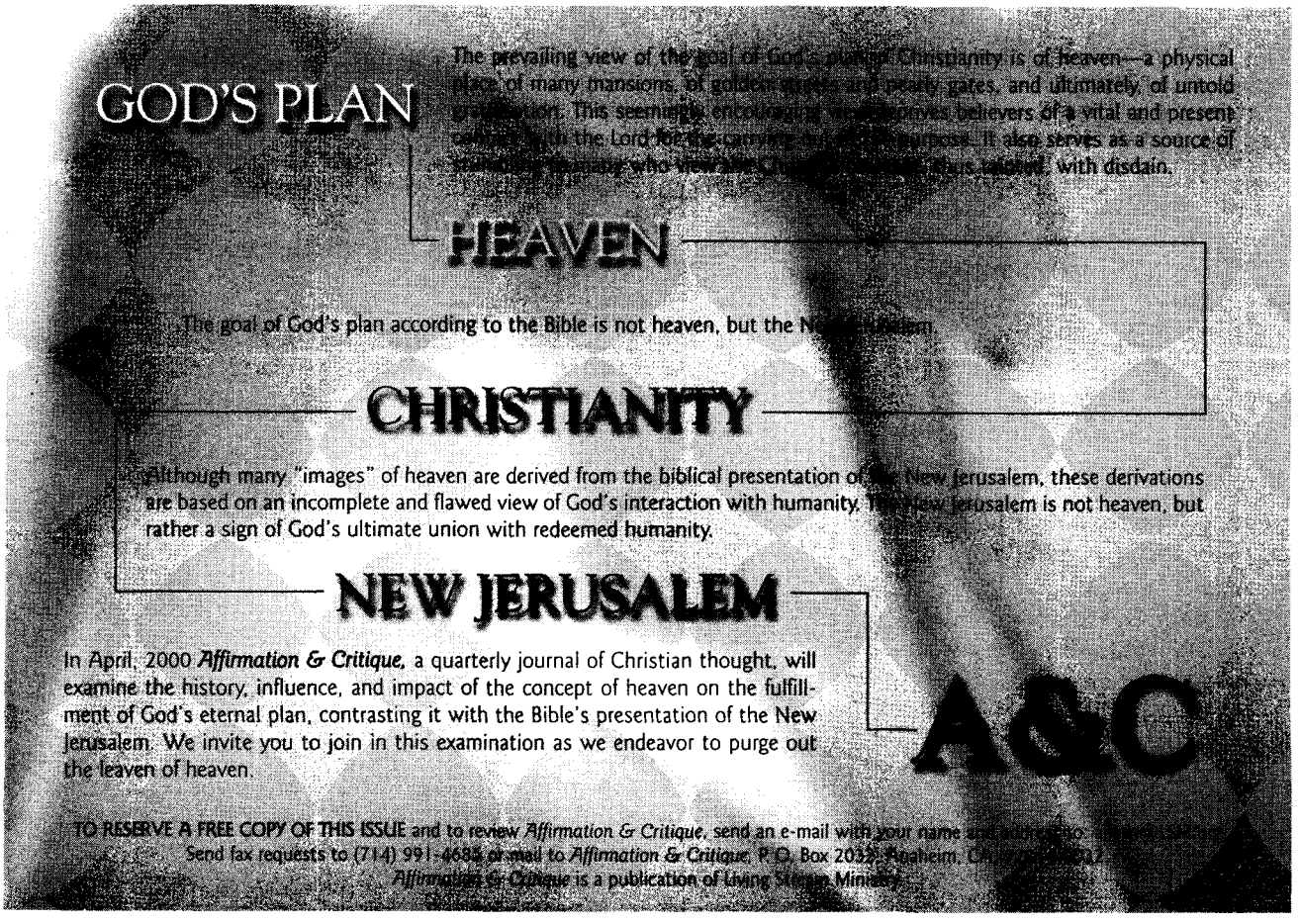
secutively, it becomes clear that Kramer is not so much a philosopher as a historian and moralist. Rather than probing the theories behind modern ideology, he focuses on the inconsistencies, obfuscations, and outright lies that leftist intellectuals employed in order to promote the chimera of a socialist future. Kramer's method is not unlike that used by Paul Johnson in his book *Intellectuals*: he measures the ideas and rhetoric espoused by these self-appointed experts against their own behavior, both public and private.

Kramer has a gift for writing about the history of ideas. Nearly every essay in this collection is a model of narrative clarity, economy, and brio. He has an unerring sense of when to punctuate his narratives with epigrams that deftly encapsulate his arguments. He describes Dwight Macdonald's political writings as "a kind of free fall where the gravity of history was suspended in favor of sheer weightlessness." Of Mary McCarthy's opportunistic reversals of opinion, he writes that she "had become . . . a political pen for all seasons." Susan Sontag "was admired not only for what she said but for the pain, shock, and disarray she caused in saying it." And again: "It was not that Sontag was ever prepared to abandon her stand on aestheticism. It was only that she did not want it to cost her anything." Contrasting the styles of two former *New Republic* editors, Kramer writes: "While [Hendrik] Hertzberg's liberalism wore a frown of scornful disapproval, [Michael] Kinsley's displayed the self-satisfied smile of the perennial undergraduate scoring points against his elders."

Tart as some of these epigrams may be, they rarely come across as cheap shots. All the same, many of these essays have the air of someone taking a sledgehammer to a swarm of gnats. So many of the figures Kramer writes about seem, in the space of just a generation or two, to be lightweights. Do Lillian Hellman, Nora Sayre, Dwight Macdonald, Cyril Connolly, or Kenneth Tynan still merit impassioned critiques? Granted, it is easy to say this in hindsight, outside the heat of battle. But Kramer himself wrote nearly all of these essays in hindsight—the earliest essay in the collection dates from 1980, but most were written in the 1990s. Perhaps, in a century dominated by lies and myths, there is a strong moral imperative to set the record straight, but in many of these essays there remains a somewhat unsettling disparity be-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tween authorial passion and subject matter that is not far removed from "weightlessness."

When Kramer treats writers whose work is likely to endure, the match seems to be played by antagonists who are closer to the same weight class—and the results are more edifying. Whether he is championing the flawed but courageous Whittaker Chambers, extricating the true George Orwell from the misreadings of his leftist interpreters, or estimating the achievements of Edmund Wilson, Sidney Hook, and Clement Greenberg, Kramer manifests the judiciousness and enthusiasm that lie at the heart of all good criticism.

BUT IT IS WHEN he turns to matters of art and aesthetics that Kramer's strengths as a thinker come most fully into play. Though a host of his ideological enemies have branded him a "reactionary elitist" for his belief in objective aesthetic standards, Kramer is no Philistine. After half a century, he retains a qualified but genuine love for the achievements of modernism in art. For all of its contradictions and dead ends, modernism was a movement that cared about beauty, meaning, and the prophetic calling of the artist.

Kramer brings these commitments to bear on Susan Sontag in one of the best essays in the collection. In an unsparing dissection of Sontag's famous 1964 essay "On Camp," Kramer sees this "pasionaria of style" to be the herald of our postmodern malaise. Sontag's celebration of camp, with its fundamentally amoral vision ("the victory of 'style' over 'content,' 'aesthetics' over 'morality,' 'irony' over 'tragedy'"), has gone hand-in-hand with the triumph of pop culture, the decay of standards, and the sort of blithe nihilism that dominates much of academia today.

Unfortunately, politics tends to dominate culture in *The Twilight of the Intellectuals*. Kramer himself provides a clue as to why this might be in his consideration of the career of Edmund Wilson. Kramer rejects the label of "public intellectual" that has been pinned on Wilson, because it subordinates "literature to the interests of politics and the adumbration of social policy." Instead, he argues that Wilson should be remembered as "a man of letters." "The world in which [Wilson] prospered has passed into history, and what has supplanted it is a degraded, highly politicized literary culture guaranteed to misconstrue his accomplishment and misrepresent its virtues."

THERE IS A CERTAIN poignancy to this comment, because it can be argued that Kramer's lifelong battle against politicized intellectuals has shaped—and therefore limited—his own career. Kramer's courage, integrity, and honesty are beyond reproach; he has fought the good fight. But it is hard not to wonder what might have happened if he had stuck with Tate and Fergusson, and chosen to be more the man of letters and less the public intellectual. To say this is not to denigrate Kramer's accomplishments, but to suggest that he—and many of his generation—have been caught up in something akin to a tragic conflict. Culture wars, no less than shooting wars, have their casualties. Perhaps one type of casualty is that the longer you fight an enemy, the more you come to resemble him.

But unlike the ideologues he continues to battle—those who have become, oxymoronically speaking, perpetual revolutionaries—it seems clear that Kramer still hopes for a time when men and women of letters can flourish once more. If Hilton Kramer's labors as a conservative intellectual have contributed toward that end, we can all be grateful for his witness.

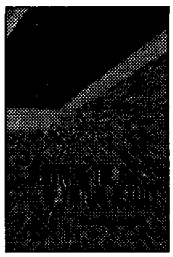
BRIEFLY NOTED

CRISIS OF CONSCIENCE. Edited by JOHN M. HAAS. *Crossroad. 173 pp. $15.95 paper.*

This collection of essays represents the fruit of an international conference, sponsored by the Wethersfield Institute in 1994, that brought together leading Catholic moral philosophers and theologians to discuss the crisis in moral reasoning of our day. Each of the contributors, echoing the thought of John Paul II, addresses the question of a "darkened conscience" and the "increasing difficulty [of Western culture] to distinguish between good and evil" (*Evangelium Vitae*). The Pope has warned of "a headlong plunge into

Surviving the Age of Virtual Reality

Thomas Langan



In this pioneering book, Thomas Langan explores virtual reality—an inherently contradictory phrase— and technology's effect on our very being. If virtual reality is, in fact, real, what is this life that we are caught up in? What is being within the context of virtual reality? How can we establish a system to assist us in distinguishing truth from fiction?

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the most dangerous crisis that can afflict man: the confusion between good and evil, which makes it impossible to build up and to preserve the moral order of individuals and communities" (*Veritatis Splendor*). The essays constitute more than philosophical speculation; they are written against the backdrop of recently published "principles of pastoral care" promulgated by German bishops that have created no small controversy within the Church. (We Protestants, as it turns out, do not have a monopoly on heteropraxy after all.) Publication of the "principles" is instructive insofar as contemporary discussions of morality not infrequently focus on notions of freedom versus absolutes, autonomy versus heteronomy, or self-determination versus external authority. In the end, a morality of individual conscience and a morality of imposed supra-personal authority appear to be locked in perpetual struggle. That humans are to follow conscience is undisputed; whether the judgments of personal conscience are infallible is another matter, since these judgments vary from person to person and frequently stand in bald contradiction to each other. While other contributors to this volume assess conscience in the light of the classic Christian moral-philosophical tradition, the essays by Josef Cardinal Ratzinger, John M. Haas, Servais Pinckaers, and Robert Spaemann speak most pointedly to the present cultural situation.

—J. Daryl Charles

WING TO WING, OAR TO OAR: READINGS ON COURTING AND MARRYING. Edited by AMY A. KASS and LEON R. KASS. *University of Notre Dame Press. 629 pp. $25 cloth, $15 paper.*

What once seemed self-evident connections between love and marriage are today obscured and widely denied. This book—issuing from a project called "The Ethics of Everyday Life" and sponsored by the Institute on Religion and Public Life—is a corrective that both instructs and delights. In order to lift up the charms and complexities of man and woman's need for each other, the Kasses enlist the help of Homer, Aquinas, Shakespeare, Austen, Tolstoy, C. S. Lewis, and a host of other worthies. Their extended introduction is rare wisdom distilled through their own marriage and in lively conversation with the best that has been thought and said about keeping faith with the promise of love. This is a book to return to again and again, tasting and testing the wondrous diversity of ways in which that promise has been, and can be, lived. There are also powerful cautionary tales about the tragic consequences of the promise betrayed. Highly recommended for both personal reflection and classroom use. (An excerpt, "Proposing Courtship," appeared in our October 1999 issue.)

JUST GENEROSITY: A NEW VISION FOR OVERCOMING POVERTY IN AMERICA. By RONALD J. SIDER. *Baker. 288 pp. $11.95 paper.*

Ron Sider has for decades been a leading force in prodding, instructing, and inspiring evangelical Protestants in their engagement with the tasks of the public square. His book *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger* helped form the minds and consciences of a generation of younger evangelicals. The present book demonstrates a greater attentiveness to public policy specifics, while losing none of Sider's evangelical urgency. As Charles Colson and John J. DiIulio note in their foreword, one need not agree with all of the author's policy analysis and prescription to "recognize a sharp mind and a kindred Christian spirit dedicated to showing how the rest of us can and should serve the least of these." Sider's persuasiveness is enhanced by his unequivocal recognition that "the least of these" includes the unborn and others who are too often excluded from the realm of "just generosity."

VIRTUE AND THE MAKING OF MODERN LIBERALISM. By PETER BERKOWITZ. *Princeton University Press. 235 pp. $27.95.*

Professor Berkowitz, formerly of Harvard and now of George Mason University, argues that early modern liberals are not as dismissive of moral virtues as commonly believed. Berkowitz begins with a brief discussion of Aristotle, Alasdair MacIntyre, Charles Taylor, and Leo Strauss in order to introduce the ancient notion of virtue, following with an equally brief discussion of contemporary liberals and communitarians who tend to dismiss virtue as a vestige of premodern Christian politics. In elegantly written studies of Hobbes, Kant, Locke, and Mill, Berkowitz finds that the fathers of modern liberalism, not unsurprisingly, believed that the virtues are necessary even in a liberal regime. Not until the end, though, does Berkowitz address the contention made by MacIntyre and others that liberalism lives off the inheritance of premodern virtue without having the resources to replenish it, and he more or less concedes that argument when he does. Thus critics of liberalism will find the book less provocative than those procedural liberals who insist that liberalism remain neutral on disputed moral questions.

THOMAS MERTON AND THE MONASTIC VISION. By LAWRENCE S. CUNNINGHAM. *Eerdmans. 233 pp. $16 paper.*

A study of Thomas Merton's intellectual and spiritual development from the publication of *The Seven Storey*

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Now is this the faith for which martyrs suffered torture and death? Silly question! Is this a faith for which a young person would forgo marriage and family, and take on life-long celibacy? No wonder we have a vocations shortage!

Liberal Catholics tell us the Church must be "inclusive" and "pluralistic," that there's no such thing as heresy anymore — there are only diverse viewpoints to be celebrated. But a religion that embraces everyone and anyone regardless of what he believes or how he behaves is moribund. As André Suarès noted, "There are no heresies in a dead religion." For as soon as a religion fails to authoritatively address the issues of falsehood — and sin and, yes, damnation — that religion has no point.

Look at what's happened in Europe: Many magnificent cathedrals are, except for the tourists, virtually empty. Look at America, where the liberal Protestant denominations are comatose, and where weekly church attendance among Catholics has fallen precipitously since woolly liberalism invaded the Church.

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Mountain in 1948 to his sudden death twenty years later. Lawrence Cunningham, a professor of theology at the University of Notre Dame, presents Merton's later life and thought in fascinating detail. He takes an extremely broad-minded approach to this controversial monk, so broad at times as to stretch the reader's patience. (His discussions of Merton's various stratagems and follies are veritable feats of nonjudgmentalism.) Cunningham argues that Merton was first a man of the monastery, interrogating and synthesizing out of a life of prayer and faith, prophetically speaking ancient wisdom to a new age. All that is undoubtedly true, especially given a certain "vision" of the monastic vocation. But although there was much of great value in Merton's understanding of the Christian life, especially in its contemporary context, he left some very tough, important questions unaddressed—for instance, how far ought Christians go in assimilating other traditions? at what point does "interrogation" become disobedience? in what ways can we "make the personal pronoun 'I' an integral part of the human search for God" without our search ending up only at ourselves? That Cunningham never addresses Merton's unaddressed questions, but rather glides over them as blithely as his subject did, leaves him open to the same suspicion in which many hold Merton himself. The result is an interesting but ultimately unsatisfying book.

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A PLACE CALLED WACO: A SURVIVOR'S STORY. By DAVID THIBODEAU. *Public Affairs. 355 pp. $25.*

Now that the Waco tragedy of April 1993 has again been busted open, if not wide open, it is extremely helpful to have the extended testimony of someone who was there. The author was a young rock musician who took up with David Koresh and his community, and is one of nine who survived the government attack on Mount Carmel (one of four who are not in jail). His telling of the story is personal, intense, and very readable. Thibodeau makes no pretense of being impartial. Nor should anyone who understands Waco as the most violent instance of the governmental persecution of religion in American history. (See Dean M. Kelley's "Waco: A Massacre and Its Aftermath," FT, May 1995.)

JEWISH PERSPECTIVES ON THE EXPERIENCE OF SUFFERING. Edited by SHALOM CARMY. *Aronson. 392 pp. $40 paper.*

Editor Carmy, who teaches philosophy and Bible at Yeshiva University, has brought together original essays reflecting on the meaning and non-meaning of suffering from the Holocaust to contemporary psychiatric hospitals. Medicine, history, theology, and other disciplines are engaged in an exploration that has, not surprisingly, suggestive overlaps with Christian thought.

THEOLOGY OF WONDER. By BISHOP SERAPHIM SIGRIST. *Oakwood. 147 pp. $9.95 paper.*

This sustained reflection is something like a beautiful, intricately designed cloth, weaving together a surprising number of voices and insights that, left on their own, would be a little duller and dimmer. The result is a unique pattern of theology, poetry, and story-telling. Like an icon, the book's apparently simple exterior, with chapters entitled "Tree," "Sword," "Hermit," "Grail," "Magi," and "Light," among others, functions as a portal leading into astonishing spiritual realms, truly filled with wonder.

THE REVENGE OF CONSCIENCE: POLITICS AND THE FALL OF MAN. By J. BUDZISZEWSKI. *Spence. 161 pp. $22.95.*

Beginning with the title essay, first published in these pages (June/July 1998), University of Texas philosopher Budziszewski moves with relentless clarity to his conclusion: "However it is to be done, the task is a matter of calling, of vocation. We are called to a political theory that assumes the moral law which no one else dares to avouch, and poses the questions which no else dares to ask. We are called to a public apologetics that connects the dots of our nation's fragmented moral consciousness, and reminds people of what they know already. We are called to a civic rhetoric that dissipates smoke screens, and disperses self-deceptions. . . . The charge is too high for us, for we are a stunted generation.

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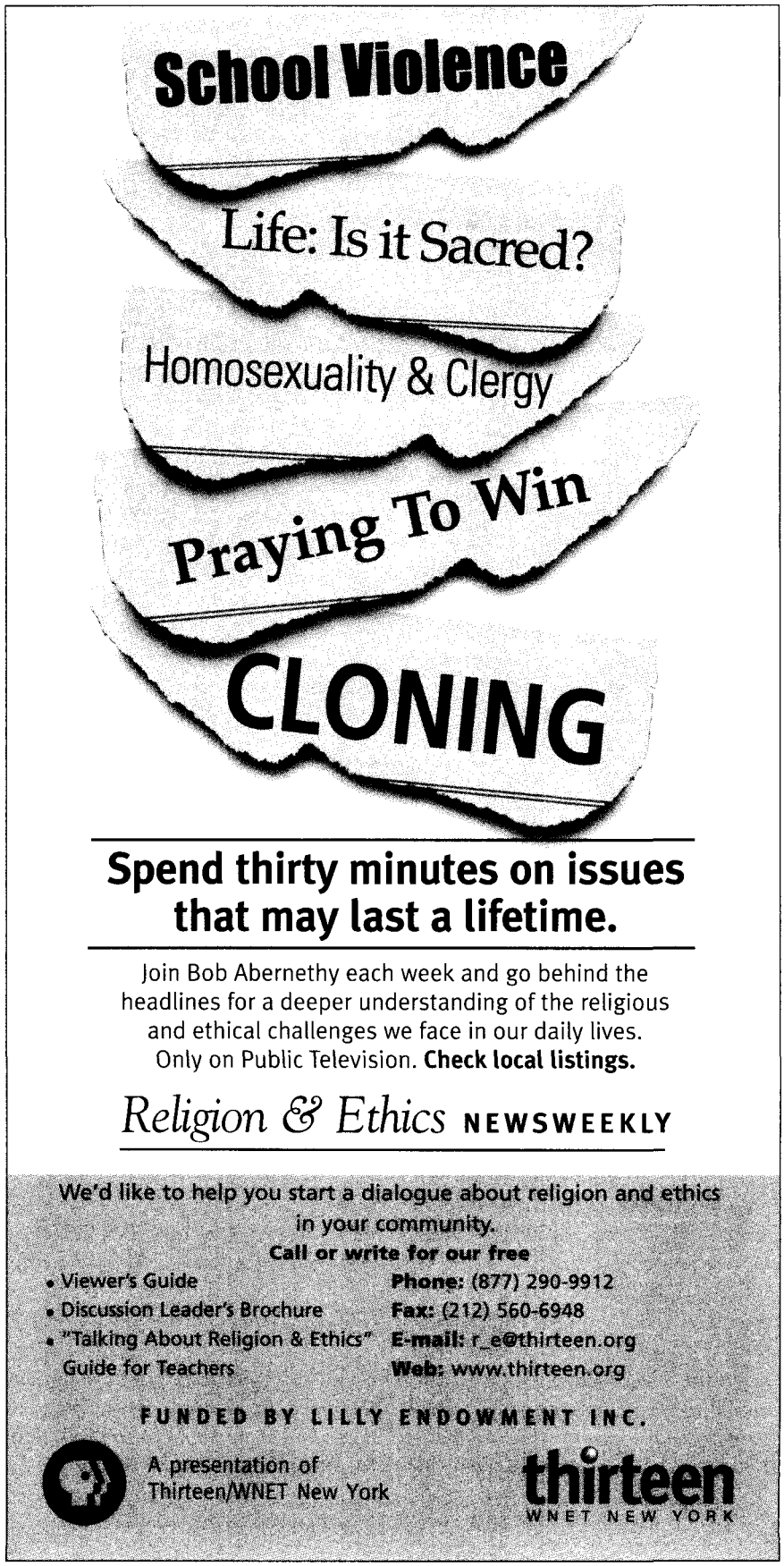
Even so, there is no one else to do it. If we neglect it, the next generation will be even shorter; if we lack the courage of our convictions, others will have the courage of their lack thereof." A book to be read alone and with others, and to give to those who have forgotten what they know.

THE CALLING: A YEAR IN THE LIFE OF AN ORDER OF NUNS. By CATHERINE WHITNEY. *Crown. 254 pp. $23.*

"Her quest is to come to terms with what it means to be called to the religious life," the inside flap tells us. Whitney is yet another defector from the Catholic Church, a one-time convent hopeful whose confusion is more touching than one might expect. In this book she tells the stories of some of the Dominican nuns who have lived at Rosary Heights convent in Edmonds, Washington, during the past few decades, some of whom were her teachers in her youth. A few of the sisters remain at Rosary Heights; a few have found, shall we say, new ways to "express" their religious vocations. In the end, though, it's not so much their story as the author's. For all her misguided ideas (e.g., the usual silliness about "hierarchy" and "dogmatism"), Whitney really does seem to have a sense of what it means to have something like a calling. It may be that, before she fell in with '60s ideology, she really was called. But now, frustrated, regretful, yet still admiring and needing the Church she thinks she has to hate, Whitney has inadvertently given us one more testimony to the empty promises of the Catholic revolution that was not to be.

THE QUEST FOR COSMIC JUSTICE. By THOMAS SOWELL. *Free Press. 214 pp. $25.*

A collection of four independent essays around the theme that our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elite classes become absorbed in their own theoretical constructs, viewing reality through their theories rather than developing their theories in dialogue with reality. "The Quiet Repeal of the American Revolution," the fourth essay, ties these themes together nicely and is especially recommended.

THE BETRAYAL OF LIBERALISM: HOW THE DISCIPLES OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY HELPED FOSTER THE ILLIBERAL POLITICS OF COERCION AND CONTROL. Edited by HILTON KRAMER and ROGER KIMBALL. *Ivan R. Dee. 248 pp. $28.95 cloth, $14.95 paper.*

All friends of liberalism, rightly understood, the contributors explore how and why currently dominant liberalisms have gone so very wrong. Essayists include Hadley Arkes, Robert Conquest, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and John O'Sullivan. The book issues from a remarkable series of articles first published in the *New Criterion.*

HOODWINKING THE NATION. By JULIAN SIMON. *Transaction. 140 pp. $29.95.*

The late Julian Simon was one of the great debunkers of environmental and other alarmisms. The telling polemic of the present volume takes particular aim at the media, for whom the maxim still holds that "good news is no news." Simon sees reason for hope in the current multiplication of media and in some indications that the establishment media are more willing to break "the gentleman's agreement" of not challenging one another. *Hoodwinking the Nation* will be relished by old friends of Simon, and for new readers could be a mind-transforming experience in their thinking about economics, environment, immigration, and much else.

AGAINST THE IDOLS OF THE AGE. By DAVID STOVE. *Transaction. 347 pp. $39.95.*

Edited by Roger Kimball of the *New Criterion,* who also provides a very helpful introduction, this book brings together trenchant essays and other comments by the late iconoclastic Australian philosopher little known in this country. No less than three blurbs on the dust jacket (one by the Editor-in-Chief of this journal) use the word "cant" to describe what Stove was very much and very effectively against. Stove was undoubtedly a contrarian, and at times comes across as a bit of a curmudgeon, but the incisiveness of his logic presses toward the something new and adventuresome that has been obscured by the intellectual idols of the age.

SELECTED SERMONS, PRAYERS, AND DEVOTIONS. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. *Vintage. 392 pp. $12.95 paper.*

With an elegantly inviting preface by Peter J. Gomes of Harvard, this collection brings together in a form both handy and handsome some of Newman's best. A welcome occasion for revisiting or discovering for the first time a spiritual master's reflection on truths ever ancient, ever new.

MAGNIFICAT: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF TIMOTHY CARDINAL MANNING. By MSGR. FRANCIS J. WEBER. *St. Francis Historical Society. 729 pp. $35.*

A thoroughly researched biography of the man who was Archbishop of Los Angeles from 1970 to 1985. Limited printing.

THE INDEX OF LEADING CULTURAL INDICATORS: AMERICAN SOCIETY AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By WILLIAM J. BENNETT. *Broadway Books. 255 pp. $10.95 paper.*

Yes, statistics are to be viewed with a certain skepticism, it having been statistically demonstrated that 62.3 percent of statistics are false. But the fact is that statistics are unavoidable in the making of social generalizations, which are also unavoidable. William Bennett and his colleagues have put us in their debt with this compilation and analysis of available data on family life, divorce, crime, religion, philanthropic giving, and a host of other subjects that cast light (and shadow) on our understanding of the state of the culture. Updated and expanded from the 1994 book of the same title, this book is warmly recommended.

KOSOVO CROSSING: AMERICAN IDEALS MEET REALITY ON THE BALKAN BATTLEFIELDS. By DAVID FROMKIN. *Free Press. 224 pp. $21.*

The "crossing" in the title of this penetrating essay by a distinguished student of international affairs is the crossing of the line between responsibility and reckless adventurism. "There are limits to our strength and wealth, and more important, there are limits to our knowledge and wisdom," writes Fromkin. "There are frontiers that cannot be crossed: not even by the United States, even at the height of its glory." While the U.S., with help from other NATO nations, "won" the bombing war, the author makes a convincing case that the real ordeal in Kosovo, Serbia, the Balkans, and the larger Slavic world may be just beginning. A sober and sobering book.

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THE PUBLIC SQUARE

A Continuing Survey of Religion and Public Life

Richard John Neuhaus

What's News?

Some years ago, in October 1991, we published C. John Sommerville's "How the News Makes Us Dumb," and I still think it one of the most winsomely wise pieces we have run. Sommerville, professor of history at the University of Florida, has now expanded that essay into a book by the same title, with the subtitle *The Death of Wisdom in an Information Society* (InterVarsity, 168 pp., $10.99).

A problem with newspapers and the TV news, says Sommerville, is "periodicity," the need to package the "news product" in order to fit the schedule of a news industry whose purpose is to attract a crowd for its advertisers. Another problem is our laziness. "We take in only what we can get in periodical form—in small, predigested, daily bites. There are plenty of books out there that would enlighten us, but we are satisfied to read only the reviews by journalists who may be more interested in seeing the ideas dismissed. Can you imagine what a review of this book would look like?"

This is not so much a review of *How the News Makes Us Dumb* as a few representative pickings, offered in the hope of whetting your appetite for a little book much worth reading. Sommerville allows that there are from time to time really big developments—Watergate, for example—that we probably should know about. "But all that this proves is that we might want to buy a newspaper when there is an important story—every twenty years or so." He cites novelist George Eliot, who was already in the nineteenth century skeptical about the claim that labor-saving devices create more leisure. Eliot didn't care much for this new leisure that "only creates a vacuum for eager thought to rush in." "Even idleness is eager now," she wrote, "eager for amusement; prone to excursion-trains, art museums, periodical literature, and exciting novels; prone even to scientific theorizing and cursory peeps through microscopes. Old Leisure was quite a different personage. He only read one newspaper, innocent of leaders [editorials], and was free from that periodicity of sensations which we call post-time [when the papers arrived]. He was a contemplative, rather stout gentleman, of excellent digestion; of quiet perceptions, undiseased by hypothesis; happy in his inability to know the causes of things, preferring the things themselves." The periodicity of sensations—an excellent phrase denoting that to which news junkies are addicted.

Real power, says Sommerville, shuns publicity. "If you only know what is in the newspapers, you are an outsider." People who make a point of keeping up with the news think they are in the know. "Actually it means just the opposite. People who are in the know watch news reports only to see what sense the reporters are making of things and what the 'peasants' will soon be thinking." The news is full of polling data, about which it is said that there is a margin of error of a few percentage points. "The real margin of error in most polls," Sommerville contends, "is about 100 percent. The error is to think that we have any *thoughts* on most subjects. Of course we will have a *response*. For we just know that this kind pollster, looking modestly down at her clipboard, is really testing us. She secretly knows the right answer to the question and is only pretending to be indifferent to our answer. Naturally those who read the most news are those who will be the least likely to have views of their own. They will try the hardest to recall the attitudes they think informed people will have."

The book concludes with a lovely vignette. Sommerville arrives at the university one morning and finds a colleague at the *New York Times* vending

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machine who looks very unhappy. "He had put in his money and pulled out . . . yesterday's edition! Today's hadn't yet arrived. He expected sympathy. But I wondered what the matter was. Yesterday that edition would have been just fine—probably a high point in his routine day. Surely, I reasoned, if it was a good issue it would bear reading and savoring again. He told me that I reminded him of a rabbi he knew who used to say things like that."

How the News Makes Us Dumb is not averse to hyperbole, and the reader need not be terribly smart to catch the author in the occasional contradiction. (And where does he get all those examples of the fatuities of "the news product" if he is not spending a good deal of time with the news? I suppose he might answer that he, like the physician, attends to what he diagnoses, which does not mean he likes it.) But Sommerville says the real test of the value of his book is whether its reader can ever again view the newspaper or evening news in the same way. By that measure, this little book is a smashing success. (By the way, and in the event you were wondering, he thinks the reading of a serious monthly such as the one you have in hand is a very good thing, maybe even a way toward something like wisdom.)

FT

As the Lutherans Turn

In the nineteenth century, Samuel Schmucker tried to get American Lutheranism to drop its doctrinal and sacramental "vestiges of Catholicism" and join up with the Anglo-Protestant mainline. That effort was turned back in what, up until about twenty-five years ago, historians of American religion called "the triumph of conservative Lutheranism." Now, according to Pastor Leonard Klein, a prominent Lutheran commentator, Schmucker's time has come around at last.

Reporting on the recent Denver convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA—by far the largest of the three Lutheran groups in the U.S.), he notes that full communion with the Episcopalians means that ELCA clergy will eventually be included in the Anglican line of apostolic succession, which, although not recognized by Rome, is a step in a "catholic" direction. At the same time, however, the ELCA has established full communion with Protestant mainline groups, implicitly abandoning the Lutheran insistence on such fundamentals as baptismal regeneration and the Real Presence in the Eucharist. Klein notes that some claim this makes the ELCA a "bridge church," but he observes that the bridge does not extend to either of the two major sectors of Christianity—Roman Catholicism and evangelical Protestantism.

The ELCA, he says, is now firmly entrenched in a loose coalition of liberal Protestantism based upon doctrinal indifferentism. "Orthodoxy (of a couple different kinds) has its place too," he writes, "but in the mainline we have long seen Neuhaus' Law in operation—'where orthodoxy is optional, orthodoxy will sooner or later be proscribed.'" He concludes that the ELCA is now "further from reconciliation with Rome than ever, at least so far as human beings can see." The ELCA is not "a liturgically, doctrinally, morally sound Church of the Augsburg Confession, oriented by that very confession not to Protestantism but to the Catholic Church of the West." It may still be "the best mainline Protestant church to be in [but] for those like me who never imagined being in any such place, the 1999 journey in Denver is a wrenching disappointment."

Some of us who, as Lutherans, labored for years to heal the breach of the sixteenth century between Rome and the Reformation know well that wrenching disappointment. It is not simply that such reconciliation is not on the horizon "so far as we can see." Rather, such reconciliation may be impossible in principle; and that because Rome of the sixteenth century (and of the centuries before and after) is present and ready, while the Lutheran Reformation has gone AWOL. At least it is neither present nor ready in the ELCA, which has retreated—along with mainline Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, et al.—into a liberal enclave secured against the challenge of both Catholicism and evangelical Protestantism. The wrenching disappointment is joined to the wrenching irony that this separatism has been effected in the name of ecumenism.

Authentic ecumenism—as distinct from indifferentism to theological and moral truth—remains an urgent task. Achievements such as the Joint Declaration on justification by Catholics and Lutherans should not be minimized; and there can be no doubt that the Catholic commitment to Christian unity is relentless, irreversible, and open-ended. (Open-ended means that the unity that is sought will transcend all the present ecclesial configurations of our divided existence, including, as John Paul II anticipates in *Ut Unum Sint*, the

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exercise of the papal office as the apostolic center of the universal Church.) On the Lutheran side, however, the circumstance is every bit as grim as Pastor Klein portrays it. Samuel Schmucker may or may not be pleased. The mainline he wanted Lutherans to join was then the mainline, quite plausibly presenting itself as the Christian future.

FT

SCIENCE, MATTER, SPIRIT, AND THREE-CARD MONTE

Watch very carefully now. There are three cards: one named Spirit, one named Matter, and the other Science. The dealer shuffles them quickly and places them face down. Now, which is Spirit, which Matter, and which Science? It's illegal, of course, but three-card monte is regularly played by young hustlers on the streets of New York (less regularly since Giuliani). They set up a cardboard box for a table and can count on gathering a crowd of locals and tourists, the former enjoying the gullibility of the latter who invariably lose the dollars they put down in the misplaced confidence that their eye is faster than the dealer's hand.

Most of us are tourists, so to speak, when it comes to the great debates among scientists and philosophers about the nature of reality. But it's marvelous fun to listen in. There is, for instance, this continuing confabulation about the connections between brain, mind, and consciousness. It seems that at least two new books on the subject appear every week. This week there is Colin McGinn's *The Mysterious Flame: Conscious Minds in a Material World* (Basic Books). McGinn, a British philosopher currently at Rutgers, argues that the existence of consciousness in a material world is a deep mystery that we will never unravel. It is, he insists, an entirely natural phenomenon that emerges from the physical brain ("a hunk of meat"), but we don't know how that happens and we never will know. And that for the simple reason that, as I have written elsewhere, our minds are not complex enough to understand our minds, and, if our minds were more complex than they are, our minds would have to be that much more complex in order to understand our minds. And so forth ad infinitum.

Galen Strawson of Jesus College, Oxford, has also produced a book on mind and consciousness. Writing in the *New York Times Book Review,* he is not unsympathetic to McGinn's claim that consciousness is an unfathomable mystery. McGinn's mistake, he writes, is to think that consciousness is unusual in this respect. McGinn thinks that, unlike matter, which we can understand, consciousness is a mystery. The truth of the matter, contends Strawson, is that we can't understand matter either. "Current physics thinks of matter as a thing of forces, energy, fields. And it can also seem natural to think of consciousness as a form or manifestation of energy, as a kind of force, and even, perhaps as a kind of field. You may still feel the two things are deeply heterogeneous, but you really have no good reason to believe this. You just don't know enough about matter." Those who know enough about matter know that it, too, is a deep mystery.

Here's where the three-card monte comes in. Strawson opines that maybe Bertrand Russell was right when he conjectured more than seventy years ago that "we know nothing about the intrinsic quality of physical events except when these are mental events that we directly experience." Strawson writes: "It is not easy to hold onto this line of thought (it requires a kind of meditative effort), but it's the way to go. . . . It shows that there is nothing to be surprised about when it comes to consciousness, although there is a very great deal we don't understand. It deepens one's feeling for the material world—the only world there is."

The last five words clearly indicate where the card marked Matter is, right? Just as clearly, in this variation of the game, Matter is trump and therefore materialism wins, right? But think again. Remember that matter is "a thing of forces, energy, fields." It is all mystery, says Strawson. It sounds very much like "being," which many philosophers (knowing this line of thought requires intense meditative effort) say is that which you cannot think not to be. Strawson presents himself as a materialist. When people do that, it usually means they don't want to get into the God question and all that. But he is already into it, and possibly over his head. The trick of the game is that the Matter card is now the Spirit card, and the Science card is Philosophy, which can also be used in a variation of the game, called Theology. To speak of reality as infinite mystery, as many scientist-philosophers now do, is to say that we can only speak of it analogously (analogy being a much more sophisticated concept than Russell's "mental events").

Analogy goes like this: "A is to B as C is to D." So, for example, "God is to the world as the artist is to his painting." Theological language—and

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philosophical language that addresses how things really are—is necessarily analogous, and that because we can only speak of ultimate reality (a.k.a. God) in terms of the created things that we know. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) declared that "No similarity can be found [between God and His creatures] so great but that the dissimilarity is even greater." Strawson is surely right; the distinction is not between matter, which we understand, and consciousness, which is a mystery. Rather, it is, so to speak, mystery all the way down and all the way up. Nor does "mystery" denote the terra incognita beyond the limits of our present understanding; that way of speaking makes mystery synonymous with a puzzle that we may one day come to understand. Mystery is not what is left over after our understanding fails. Rather, it is the case that we have come to *understand* that it is mystery all the way up and all the way down. Put differently, matter, too, is spirit. (In the first volume of his *Systematic Theology*, Wolfhart Pannenberg very suggestively discusses the Holy Spirit in terms of what contemporary science calls the universal force field.)

Tainted Science

For very understandable historical reasons, as distinct from logical reasons, most scientists dealing with questions such as the brain-mind-consciousness connections have a powerful aversion to anything hinting of religion or theology. In scientific circles, to be known to be a believer is to be vulnerable to the suspicion that your science is tainted by your religion. This goes way back to Hume's divorce of "fact" and "value," with science addressing the former and religion (along with poetry, literature, and other private indulgences) addressing the latter. For a long time, most scientists and theologians have been content to play on their side of the divide between fact and value, with theologians frequently wanting to treat the divide more as a net in a game of table tennis. (See Basil Mitchell, *How to Play Theological Ping-Pong: Essays on Faith and Reason*, 1990.) Scientists typically were not interested in playing that game.

One way for scientists to avoid being bothered by pesky theologians or by philosophers who want to take on the big questions was to adamantly declare themselves to be materialists. The material world, asserts Strawson, is "the only world there is." The late television astronomer Carl Sagan delighted in concluding his programs with the pronunciamento that matter is all there is, all there ever was, and all there ever will be. But what to do when the most rigorous scientific thought about the hardest evidence leads to the conclusion that matter and spirit are not antithetical, that at the deepest level matter is spirit, and maybe even Spirit? Galen Strawson is right in saying that this line of thought is the way to go. But the perduring aversion to religion, theology, and serious philosophy is such that we should not expect most scientists to advance quickly or directly in this line of thought. Be prepared for decades to come in which some scientists will persist in the sleight of hand by which they switch the cards marked Matter, Spirit, and Science. Three-card monte is a mug's game, but we can understand why some people think they need it.

It is mystery all the way upward, all the way downward, and all the way backward. It is the last direction that was addressed twenty years ago by astronomer Robert Jastrow in *God and the Astronomers*. In trying to discover the origin of the universe, he wrote,

> We would like to pursue the inquiry farther back in time, but the barrier to further progress seems insurmountable. It is not a matter of another year, another decade of work, another measurement, or another theory; at this moment it seems as though science will never be able to raise the curtain on the mystery of creation. For the scientist who has lived by his faith in the power of reason, the story ends like a bad dream. He has scaled the mountains of ignorance; he is about to conquer the highest peak; as he pulls himself over the final rock, he is greeted by a band of theologians who have been sitting there for centuries.

The danger of that well-known passage is that it can contribute to smugness among theologians, and it can be used to perpetuate the old idea that theology is unrelated to reason. As so powerfully argued in the 1998 encyclical *Fides et Ratio*, faith that does not think is no faith at all. But Jastrow's observation does underscore the end of an older form of scientific reason—sometimes called scientism—that was relentlessly constrictive and reductionist in what it permitted people to think. Now the best of science opens toward wonder, and the opening toward wonder can be an opening toward wisdom. It is not equivalent to, but neither is it unrelated to, the words of the psalmist, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

Watch very carefully now. The cards are quickly shuffled and placed face down. Which is Matter, which is Spirit, and which Science? What if each is

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all and all each? The next time you meet someone who declares himself a materialist, and if he is an intellectually serious person, you might want to encourage him. Perhaps he is not materialist enough. As Galen Strawson says, it's the way to go. And, I would add, to keep on going, ever deeper into the mystery, at the heart of which—or so it has been discovered by most of the most thoughtful of our species—is Wisdom.

FT

Invidious Comparisons

Our policy is not to print letters in response to letters appearing in the correspondence section. We get a lot of them. To print them would drag exchanges on and on, with readers wondering who had previously said what to whom. Plus, the space is needed for letters responding to current articles. But what's the point of being Editor-in-Chief if you cannot make exceptions to policy? At least a partial exception. Charles Ford of St. Louis University, in response to a letter published in the November 1999 issue that reflects a view widely held, makes a substantive argument about invidious comparisons:

> The letter by Robert Alpert about Pius XII and the Jews (Correspondence, November 1999) reveals some serious misunderstandings. He criticizes Eugenio Pacelli (Pius XII) by comparing him unfavorably with Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a Lutheran pastor who was executed for taking part in attempts to eliminate Hitler. Mr. Alpert states that "the proper Christian response was Bonhoeffer's, not Pacelli's. The call for Christians during the period of the annihilation of European Jewry was witness and resistance even if it involved martyrdom."
>
> The criticism is that Pacelli failed to make explicit, unequivocal, public condemnation of the Nazi campaign of annihilation during World War II. Mr. Alpert dismisses the reasons given in defense of Pacelli as "hollow and ignoble."
>
> He has no grounds, however, for holding up Bonhoeffer as a model for what Pacelli failed to do. During the war, Bonhoeffer never gave public condemnations of the Nazis. On the contrary, he feigned public approval. The reason—not to draw attention to illegal activities—is the same reason given by Pacelli. It is as valid for Pacelli as for Bonhoeffer.
>
> From the very beginning of the war, the Roman Catholic Church was involved in illegal actions to rescue Jewish people. About one million Jews survived Nazi occupation because of rescue actions. About 85 percent of these were carried out by Roman Catholics. Eugenio Pacelli feared that more forceful public statements would invite more severe Nazi reprisals. Mr. Alpert regards this argument as "the most disingenuous and disturbing of all. More severe? . . . For the Jewish community *nothing* could have been more severe." But Nazi reprisals would inevitably have hindered rescue work. The resulting annihilation of yet more Jews would indeed have been more severe.
>
> Mr. Alpert sees Oskar Schindler as another model for what Pacelli failed to do. In fact, however, Schindler performed the type of rescue action that Pius XII was fostering all over Europe. Like Bonhoeffer, Schindler did not speak out publicly against the Nazis, but feigned agreement while engaging in rescue activities.
>
> In 1939, the year Eugenio Pacelli was elected Pope, Dietrich Bonhoeffer joined the German resistance movement. From then on, Pacelli was kept informed about the resistance. This made him the more likely to refrain from forceful public statements. Nothing indicates that Bonhoeffer or the resistance disagreed. Dr. Joseph Müller, a Catholic lawyer, served as the contact between the resistance and Pius XII. He and Bonhoeffer developed a deep mutual respect. They were arrested together in April 1943.
>
> The implicit comparison of Pacelli with Roosevelt and Churchill, presumably because they also failed to speak out, is inappropriate. Bonhoeffer wanted Roosevelt and Churchill to encourage the resistance and to publicly discuss peace aims. They refused to do either. Pius XII is the only leader who took the resistance seriously and publicly discussed peace aims. Pacelli understood, as Roosevelt and Churchill did not, the significance of the German resistance.
>
> Bonhoeffer's path led to martyrdom. No one who has followed carefully the career of Eugenio Pacelli, however, can doubt that he would have risked martyrdom in defense of the Jews. His decision against a forceful public

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stand was not taken out of unwillingness to risk martyrdom but rather for the purpose of saving more lives. For his part, Bonhoeffer never sought martyrdom. He was exceedingly skillful in misleading his interrogators. Up to the day before his execution, he expected to survive the Nazis. When martyrdom did come, though, Bonhoeffer accepted it in full submission to the will of God.

The "witness and resistance" of Eugenio Pacelli and Dietrich Bonhoeffer are similar. Both were important figures of Christian resistance, motivated by a desire to prevent further destruction, especially of the Jews. Both engaged in clandestine activities and avoided direct public statements that might draw attention to these activities.

Mr. Alpert states that "the people of Israel have every right to comment on a man whose actions were intimately bound up with their survival during World War II." Indeed. Under Pacelli's direct leadership, 12 percent of the Jewish population under Nazi occupation was successfully rescued. The puzzle is not, as Mr. Alpert would have it, why John Paul II would attempt to beatify Eugenio Pacelli, but rather why anyone, especially leaders of Jewish organizations, would oppose it.

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1984 AND NOW

The Association of Christians in Political Science was launched some years ago, mainly by evangelicals, and is today a lively and ecumenical group that recently held its annual meeting at Calvin College in Grand Rapids. I was invited to give a public lecture on the subject of President Clinton and the American character (you know what I have to say on that) and the next day there was a special session to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the publication of *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America.*

In preparation for that, I went back for the first time to reread *The Naked Public Square.* For a writer, it is both encouraging and discouraging to recognize the continuity in one's thinking; encouraging to see how arguments have held up, discouraging to see how little the basic arguments have changed. But that, too, is vanity. Only the writer is inside his own head, and he should not assume that others will see all the continuities he sees. I conceive of writing as engagement in a conversation, and the reader's questions and challenges are essential to the conversation continuing. After we have fallen into silence, as we inevitably shall, we may hope that others will take up the conversation where we left off.

While it does not seem to me that my mind has been greatly changed with respect to the basic arguments, the circumstance at the beginning of a new century is very different. Upon rereading *The Naked Public Square,* I was struck by how taken I was with the Italian social theorist Vilfredo Pareto and his idea of "the circulation of elites" in social change. Put too briefly, I posited that what was in the early 1980s called "the new religious right" was positioned to succeed, over time, the liberal Protestant mainline in giving moral-cultural definition to the American experiment. That may still happen, it may in fact be in the process of happening. The prospect has subsequently been reinforced by developments such as "Evangelical and Catholics Together," in which evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics join in acknowledging one another at the deepest level as brothers and sisters in Christ, and also embrace together the great tasks of cultural reconstruction.

This convergence was anticipated in *The Catholic Moment,* a book published three years after *The Naked Public Square,* in which I speculated that Father John Courtney Murray may have been right in the 1950s when he foresaw a time when Catholics, picking up a fallen banner, would take the lead in publicly articulating the constituting truths of the American order. Murray could not then imagine that this would be done in cooperation with evangelical Protestants, who were then easily dismissable as a band of self-isolated "fundamentalists" quite content to let America go to Hell in a handbasket of its choice while they awaited the Rapture.

The kind of major reconfigurations of social forces discussed in those two books take a long time to work themselves out, and I am certainly not prepared to say that what I anticipated then has been falsified by subsequent events. On the contrary, the convergence of evangelical and Catholic dynamics in giving religio-cultural redefinition to American life continues to be the only believable game in town. But such a redefinition is not going to prevail any time soon. On the Catholic side, the episcopal and intellectual will is still flabby and undecided. The mindless rush to prove that Catholics are "good Americans" and

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"just like everybody else" has slowed down, but has hardly been reversed. The greatest disappointment, at almost all levels of Catholic leadership, is the failure to seize upon the comprehensive program of renewal proposed in the social teaching of the pontificate of John Paul II.

And, as I said at Calvin College, I have been sobered by the evidence of the apparently incorrigible individualism of so much of evangelical Protestantism that simply does not see the connection between God's salvific purposes and the tasks of cultural engagement. This is underscored by, for instance, Christian Smith's *American Evangelicalism*, in many ways an excellent book but one that is resigned to evangelicalism being forever a loosely linked network of subcultures providing individuals with "sacred umbrellas" while evidencing little interest in the "sacred canopy" (Peter Berger) of public meanings. (For a discussion of Smith's argument, see "Those Unsecular Evangelicals," Public Square, August/September 1999.) But, as I say, these things take time, and I am by no means prepared to withdraw what I have proposed as the promise of both Catholicism and evangelical Protestantism, and of evangelicals and Catholics together.

The Fading of Secular Humanism

Upon rereading *The Naked Public Square*, I was also struck by how seriously I and others took the arguments of those who were then described, and described themselves, as "secular humanists." The band of supremely confident secular intellectuals who gathered around figures such as John Dewey to issue proclamations such as the 1933 "Humanist Manifesto" appeared as a force to be reckoned with. In 1984 I noted that that kind of assertive secularism seemed to be no longer so confident, and maybe was going on the defensive. Today it seems that species is almost extinct, although it is more likely that they now present themselves in a different guise. In public education, from grade school through graduate school, there is less frequently a frontal assault on Christianity and the Judeo-Christian moral tradition. Almost nobody today is explicitly proposing, as John Dewey did, a "religion of secularism" or "a common faith" to replace biblical religion. But the religions and quasi-religions of "multiculturalism" are pervasive and they provide a more insidious replacement. The newly imagined religions of Native Americans and devotions to Mother Earth and her pantheon of nature gods and goddesses are a commonplace in school curricula. The currents of thought that now run under the banner of "postmodernism" are a major factor in undermining the former confidence of secularists who opposed religion in the name of Enlightenment rationality.

In going back to what I wrote in 1984, I am impressed by how powerful was the remembered presence of the Vietnam War, and the real presence of the Cold War of which Vietnam was part. I proposed then that a crucial dividing line in the culture war is between those who do and those who do not agree with the proposition that "On balance, and considering the alternatives, America is a force for good in the world." That formulation caught a lot of flack from liberal critics who condemned it as "simplistic." I thought it rather carefully nuanced. No doubt there are still many who would deny that proposition today. But they do not now make such a big issue of it. Agreement or disagreement with the proposition does not now, as it did then, go a long way toward answering the question, "Whose side are you on?" The reason for that, of course, is the disappearance of the totalitarian alternative of the evil empire. That is perhaps the biggest difference between then and now.

Fifteen years later, and ten years after the end of the Cold War, there are signs that elements of the left and right are coming together in opposition to what is widely recognized as a kind of American imperium in maintaining world order. The fecklessness of the Clinton policies—from Haiti to Somalia to Kosovo—has precluded any clear definition of the imperium, but that will likely change in the years ahead, resulting in some curious realignments in response to the proposition that "On balance, and considering the alternatives, America is a force for good in the world."

Confusing the Cities

In important respects, our circumstance at the beginning of the twenty-first century is more promising than we had any right to expect fifteen or thirty years ago. The argument about the dangers of the naked public square is not thought to be so controversial today as it was in 1984. Perhaps because the dangers have become more evident. There are other factors as well, such as the way in which the courts, including the Supreme Court, are backing off somewhat from a rigidly secularist understanding of "the separation of church and state." Yet one also notes today the growing habit of writers, both religious and secular, to speak of America as a post-Christian society. Among some Christians, this way of speaking reflects disappointment that, after two decades of their full

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bore political activism, the nation has not been returned to the paths of righteousness.

Talk about post-Christian America typically assumes a necessary connection between Christianity and civic righteousness, and of course that connection cannot be denied. Christianity, however, is also very much about sin and sinners, and how to cope in an earthly city that is not to be confused with the city of eschatological promise. Some conservative Christians who have turned against what they call post-Christian or neo-pagan America have learned one right lesson: that most of what ails our culture cannot be fixed by politics. Unfortunately, they have also drawn from that a wrong lesson: that political engagement is futile.

Even more than I did in *The Naked Public Square*, I would today draw attention to the Jewish-Christian connection. Most Christians simply do not understand why Jews—who are, after all, about 2 percent of the population—should be so important to reconstituting the civil public square. Today we must address that puzzlement in a way that will provoke a new way of thinking about these matters among both Christians and Jews. In 1984 I cited a friend, a Reform rabbi, who asserted, "When I hear the phrase 'Christian America' I see barbed wire." He reflected what was then an almost unanimous sentiment among American Jews. Fifteen years later, there are important Jewish voices, even a few Reform voices, saying that it is in the interest also of Jews that American culture reassert its Christian identity, always remembering that such an identity is grounded in a Judeo-Christian moral tradition in which the "Judeo" is by no means incidental.

Toward the end of *The Naked Public Square*, I took up the contention of those who then said that the day of liberal democracy is past. There were many who said that, as there are still some who say it today. Most of those who said it then—in the churches, the universities, and the media—held the view that America was "on the wrong side of history." In their passionate support for "liberation struggles" in Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola, and elsewhere they left little doubt about what they thought—"on balance, and considering the alternatives"—was the right side. The conclusion of the book considered the "dour prospect" of the end of liberal democracy. The hazards in the new century now underway will be different of course, but America will continue to be an experiment, and it will continue to be an experiment that is sustained by an intelligent anxiety about what it would mean were it to fail. In short, I am not persuaded by Francis Fukuyama's "end of history" argument. We have to consider the prospect of the experiment's failure, and what I said about that in the concluding passage of *The Naked Public Square* I would still say today:

> It makes little difference whether the successor regime is of the right or of the left or unclassifiable. By whatever ideology the idea, this audacious democratic idea, would be declared discredited. By whom, where, under what circumstances, by what conception and what dedication could it ever be tried again? Yes, of course, life would go on and God's purposes will not be defeated, not ultimately. But the world would be a darker and colder place. That it can happen is evident to all but the naive and willfully blind. That it will happen seems probable, if we refuse to understand the newness, the fragility, the promise, and the demands of religion and democracy in America.

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A DEFINING MOMENT

The phrase "defining moment" is much overused. Were there as many of them as people declare there to be, definitions of anything and everything would be up for grabs, which maybe is what some people have in mind. But the 233-31 vote of the Catholic bishops in favor of implementing *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* (from the heart of the Church) may aptly be described as a defining moment. The impetus of the 1967 Land o' Lakes statement, which was a virtual declaration of independence from the Church on the part of the Catholic higher education establishment, has been decisively broken, although by no means reversed. The approved steps for implementation, which will almost certainly be confirmed by Rome, are exceedingly modest. The bishops are so very careful to assure the 230-plus colleges and universities that they are in no way threatening their "institutional autonomy."

After ten years of wrangling, the overwhelming vote last November was in some respects a symbolic action, but especially in the Church it is understood that symbolic actions are never "merely symbolic." It is now policy that those who

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teach theology in Catholic schools should receive a *mandatum* from their bishop upon giving assurances that they will not present as authentic Catholic teaching views that are at variance with the Magisterium. Not to misrepresent Catholic teaching is a simple matter of honesty. It is not specified what would happen to institutions that hire or retain theology teachers who do not obtain a *mandatum*. It is clear that a bishop could, if forced to it, publicly declare that a college or university is no longer recognized as Catholic by the Church, which in most cases would have dire consequences for recruitment of students and alumni support. Observers claim that a few schools—Georgetown, for instance—could flourish without the Catholic label, and may be glad to get rid of it. But, in general, Catholic colleges and universities would be in deep trouble if they were not publicly perceived to be Catholic.

The Catholic academic establishment, led by the Jesuits, made a disastrous misjudgment in relentlessly opposing even so modest an implementation of *Ex Corde Ecclesiae*. The misjudgment reflects the degree to which they have been out of touch with what has been happening in Catholicism, and in the American episcopate, under the vigorous reforming leadership of John Paul II. Even the Jesuits, however, could not present a solid front of opposition, as was made evident in the article by Father John J. Piderit, S.J., president of Loyola University in Chicago, in these pages ("The University at the Heart of the Church," June/July 1999). Nobody can feel more vindicated by the action of the bishops than Fr. James Burtchaell, former provost of Notre Dame, who first wrote in this journal about the history of the secularization of Protestant and Catholic church-related colleges and universities ("The Decline and Fall of the Christian College," April and May 1991). That two-part article turned into the book *The Dying of the Light* (1998), which has been widely read and was repeatedly invoked at the meeting of the bishops. Burtchaell's scholarship provided the bishops with case studies of what they saw happening before their eyes in Catholic institutions of higher education, and thoroughly discredited the opposition's claim that there was no cause for concern.

Since the November action, the Catholic left has been in an uproar over this putatively reactionary and authoritarian turn that threatens intellectual inquiry, academic freedom, and other good things. A common theme is that the action will have a "chilling effect" that will discourage younger academics from going into theology. This is, not to put too fine a point on it, nonsense. The reality is that most younger academics are intensely interested in Catholic theology that is truly Catholic. They have no interest whatsoever in playing the equivocal, and frequently dishonest, games with Catholic theology that have consumed the careers of so many of an earlier and now superannuated generation. They *want* to be Catholic theologians. If *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* discourages younger academics who do not share that desire from becoming teachers of Catholic theology, that can only be counted as a very good thing for them, for students interested in Catholic theology, and for the Church.

The 233-31 vote is also an important measure of what has happened to the American episcopate during the years of this pontificate's bold advancement of the vision of the Second Vatican Council. As little as a week before the November meeting, some bishops crucially involved in the proposal thought the vote would be much closer. Among the predictably vocal members of the declining minority in reaction against the reforms promoted by this pontificate was Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee, who declared, among other things, that the implementation of *Ex Corde* would lead to "pastoral disaster." Somewhat amusingly, Gustav Niebuhr of the *New York Times*, in his report on these developments, says that Archbishop Weakland is "considered one of the few remaining moderate figures in the church hierarchy." He is probably considered that by the thirty bishops who voted with him. If he is a moderate, it would seem to follow that more than 80 percent of the bishops are extremists. So much for all the news that fits the weary story line of the liberalism of yesteryear.

The bishops were undoubtedly wise to adopt so modest a plan for implementing *Ex Corde*. This should be viewed as a beginning. It will not effect great changes immediately. It does clarify the principle that the bishops, in communion with the bishop of Rome, are the chief teachers of the faith, and as such have a necessary and undeniable interest in persons and institutions purporting to teach Catholic theology. Critics to the contrary, the November action is not a matter of clamping down but of inviting colleges and universities to open up to the high intellectual and spiritual adventure of studying and teaching the faith in the splendor of truth. It is, as aforesaid, a defining moment.

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AMERICAN HISTORY AND THEOLOGICAL NERVE

We begin the new millennium without millennialism. At least in our public life there is little talk about the unfolding of a providentially directed plan for the world, with America cast in the leading role. It was very different in the beginnings of the American experiment. The framers of the Constitution declared this to be a *novus ordo seclorum*—a new order for the ages. Those words appear on the Great Seal of the United States and are printed on the back of every dollar bill. The idea of newness, of progress, has always been at the heart of the American experience. Also in our political life of more recent decades we have had Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, John F. Kennedy's New Frontier, and Ronald Reagan's "It's morning in America." Although it may now be hard to remember, Bill Clinton ran in 1992 on the promise of a New Covenant, meaning a renewed relationship of mutual trust and obligation between leadership and people.

Such political slogans are weak echoes of an understanding of history that was once given powerful expression in the public life of "Christian America." The millennialist (or millenarian) vision is grounded in Judeo-Christian tradition, notably in the Old Testament's Book of Daniel and late Jewish apocalyptic literature of the pre-Christian era. The main source of the teaching and its subsequent impact on history, however, is the New Testament Book of Revelation, especially chapter twenty. Christian millennialists fall into two camps, premillennialists and postmillennialists. Premillennialists believe that the second coming of Christ will precede the millennium, which is a thousand-year period in which the world will know perfect peace, justice, and general blessedness. Postmillennialists believe that Christ will return after we have succeeded in establishing such a happy circumstance on earth.

Most Christians of both the past and present are not millennialists of any variety. What the Book of Revelation means by a thousand-year reign of the saints on earth is, in the mainstream of Christian orthodoxy, taken to be a deep mystery about which the greatest reticence is in order. On this question, too, St. Augustine (354-430) prevailed, especially in the Christian West, with his antimillennialist reading of history. In Augustine's view, the "city of God" and the "city of man" would continue in ambiguous tension and conflict until the final judgment when Christ returns in triumph and brings history to a definitive end.

The Augustinian view discourages excessive excitements about the possibilities of history. Millennial excitements erupted from time to time, as with the twelfth-century Joachim of Fiore, and exploded in the sixteenth century among Anabaptists, Bohemian Brethren, and other groups belonging to what is called the radical Reformation. Postmillennial convictions, however, were by no means limited to a radical fringe. In this country, the belief that America is God's instrument for establishing the millennium and thus ushering in the Kingdom of God was, with varying degrees of theological explicitness, the official faith of Christian, and very Protestant, America. Postmillennialism dominated public thought and speech well into the twentieth century.

Putting Reason on Alert

The Enlightenment of the American Founders was not that of Voltaire or Rousseau but of an Anglo-Scottish stream of thought that put reason on alert to what was thought to be the unfolding of Providential purpose in history. John Adams, who would become the second President of the United States, wrote ten years before the Declaration of Independence about the Protestant Reformation liberating the world from the evil "confederacy" of Romish religion and political tyrants who had for centuries held humankind in thrall.

> Thus, as long as this confederacy lasted, and the people were held in ignorance, liberty, and with her, knowledge and virtue too, seem to have deserted the earth, and one age of darkness succeeded another, till God in his benign providence raised up the champions who began and conducted the Reformation. From the time of the Reformation to the first settlement of America, knowledge gradually spread in Europe, but especially in England; and in proportion as that increased and spread among the people, ecclesiastical and civil tyranny . . . seem to have lost their strength and weight.

It was in the world of the American Founders a conventional trope that, as with the course of the sun, enlightenment, liberty, and empire moved from East to West. From the Near East to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to England, and now, with wondrous consistency, across the Atlantic to America. In this vision, world history and

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spiritual destiny were unbreakably joined. Mark Hopkins, the preeminent nineteenth-century educator, gave voice to the common understanding:

> Christianity has, indeed, always proposed to herself the subjugation of the world; but she had practically fallen back from her undertaking, not knowing the extent or character of her field. Gradually these were opening upon her, until about the commencement of the present century, when the command of Christ, interpreted by modern discoveries, began to work in the heart of the Church. This, though as yet far from assuming the place and creating the movement it ought, is still to be regarded as the central idea. Everything tends to show that this is to be the ultimate result of God's plan.

The idea that Christ's command to evangelize the world awaited implementation until the Protestant Reformation and the development of America may strike us as somewhat implausible, but it was from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century a commonplace in Christian America. In this context, "modern discoveries" such as the telegraph, transoceanic cables, and transcontinental railroad were all integral to the unfolding of Divine purpose. J. Downell, a representative Congregationalist minister, declared in 1869: "We must see a Divine adaptation and harmony in all this—a fitting together of means and ends, a playing of material instrumentalities over into the objects of the spiritual kingdom. Not a railroad is swung by God into its orbit, that he does not put to work on this upward mission." The upward mission of America, said Hopkins, is nothing less than "that triumph of Christianity in which alone the perfection of society is involved." Science and progress do not operate by their own momentum but are God's instruments for fitting the human being to "receive those influences of Christianity through which alone our perfect manhood can now find its consummation."

The Israel of Our Time

The much later Herman Melville of *Clarel* would become disillusioned and even bitter, but in *White Jacket*, the book that came just before *Moby Dick*, he powerfully summarizes the doctrine of his time in Christian America. A representative passage deserves to be quoted in full:

> Escaped from the house of bondage, Israel of old did not follow after the ways of the Egyptians. To her was given an express dispensation; to her were given new things under the sun. And we Americans are the particular, chosen people—the Israel of our time; we bear the ark of the liberties of the world. Seventy years ago we escaped from thrall; and besides our first birthright—embracing one continent of earth—God has given to us, for a future inheritance, the broad domains of the political pagans, that shall yet come and lie down under the shade of our ark, without bloody hands being lifted. God has predestined, mankind expects, great things from our race; and great things we feel in our souls. The rest of the nations must soon be in our rear. We are the pioneers of the world; the advance-guard, sent on through the wilderness of untried things, to break a new path in the New World that is ours. In our youth is our strength; in our inexperience, our wisdom. At a period when other nations have but lisped, our deep voice is heard afar. Long enough have we been skeptics with regard to ourselves, and doubted whether, indeed, the political Messiah had come. But he has come in *us*, if we would but give utterance to his promptings. And let us always remember that with ourselves, almost for the first time in the history of earth, national selfishness is unbounded philanthropy; for we cannot do a good to America, but we give alms to the world.

Heady stuff, that. And it would live on through the stream of American consciousness, sometimes repressed and flowing underground, only to erupt again in moments of crisis or national exuberance. After World War I, a failing Woodrow Wilson took his case for ratifying the League of Nations to the American people. In Oakland, California, on September 18, 1919, he declared: "I wish that they [opponents of ratification] could feel the moral obligation that rests upon us not to go back on those boys, but to see the thing through, to see it through to the end and make good their redemption of the world. For nothing less depends upon this decision, nothing less than the liberation and salvation of the world." Something of the same intuition about the American possibility resonates in Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" speech of August 28, 1963, and the distance between John Winthrop's 1630 anticipation of a "a city upon a hill" and Ronald Reagan's "morning in America" is not so far as many seem to think.

While it is important to recall the vision of what Ernest Lee Tuveson, in an engaging book by the

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same title, called the "Redeemer Nation," there is no denying that it is not the dominant vision in our public life at the beginning of a new millennium. Many changes in society and the political culture have worked transformations in the way we think of America and its role in world history. But perhaps more fundamental is the different way in which we think about progress, and especially moral progress. (See my article, "The Idea of Moral Progress," August/September 1999.) From John Winthrop and John Adams up through the present, there has been frequent bombast and boosterism—and no little measure of sinful pride—in the ways people have talked about America's "destiny" and its meaning for world history. Current enthusiasms marching under the banner of "multiculturalism" are, in part, motivated by the fear of a revival of national arrogance. In very small part, I should add, since the more aggressive forms of multiculturalism represent an attack on Western culture across the board, including its moral injunctions against arrogance.

There are many ways to explain the absence of millennial excitements today. Some might say that we have learned from history the tragedies produced by such excitements, as so thoroughly documented in, for instance, Norman Cohn's admirable book, *The Pursuit of the Millennium.* That may be part of it. But it is at least worth considering that our disinclination or inability to speak about God's purposes in history, and of America's part in His purposes, may reflect a failure of theological nerve. The modesty on which we pride ourselves may, in fact, be a lack of faith, or at least an unwillingness to let faith think in public about what God may be up to through time. Thinking about what God may be up to is not unrelated to what Christianity, from the New Testament through the Second Vatican Council, has meant by "reading the signs of the times." Such thinking need not be marked by hubris or apocalyptic excitements, as is amply demonstrated by St. Augustine and other worthies. Such thinking does assume that there are signs to be read and, in full awareness of the risks entailed, to be acted upon in faith.

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WHILE WE'RE AT IT

■The "unspoken argument," says Derek Humphry, founder of the Hemlock Society, is finally gaining some ground. The argument is that "greedy geezers" (in Humphry's words) who want to live, despite the medical bills they rack up, simply have to go. "Economics," states Humphry, "not the quest for broadened individual liberties or increased autonomy, will drive assisted suicide to the plateau of acceptable practice." Physician-lawyer William M. Sage of Columbia Law School hopes that "future discussions of assisted suicide [will] explore the moral legitimacy of making a personal physical sacrifice for an equally personal financial benefit." You can take it with you after all?

■"Guidelines to holiness are just that: guidelines." That is the interpretive principle that informs Chris Glaser's *The Word is Out: Daily Reflections on the Bible for Lesbians and Gay Men* (Westminster/John Knox). In the daily Bible readings and accompanying reflections, the book does not hesitate to take on the tough ones. For instance, on Leviticus 18 and "abomination," it is noted that this is part of the "holiness code" of the Old Testament, and holiness requires being separate from sin. The author comments: "Separateness demands that our church separate itself from the homophobia and bigotry of the surrounding culture." But the artfulness of the book is perhaps best caught in the meditation for August 22, which provides helpful insight into the approach of the gay Christian movement. Here it is in its entirety:

> *For this reason God gave them up to degrading passions. Their women exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural, and in the same way also the men, giving up natural intercourse with women, were consumed with passion for one another.*
>
> —Romans 1:26-27
>
> When we first discovered we were gay, most of us would have probably preferred finding the exchange window of heaven to return our natural homosexual orientation for a heterosexual one. Life would have been easier. Paul and other biblical writers did not know today's distinction between sexual orientation and behavior. They, like many heterosexuals today, assumed everyone was born like them, and that homosexual behavior involved some choice contrary to one's natural inclination. Paul associated the phenomenon with idolatry. How then do we account for Christians who are lesbian, gay, or bisexual? Clearly, Paul is wrong. Reason and experience (and science their product) contradict his understanding. Ironically, Paul's own teaching contradicts his judgment. His letter to the

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Romans is devoted to the principle that we are not made holy by conformity, but by faith in Jesus Christ. We cannot be saved by behaving heterosexually, only by following Christ.

Christ Jesus, give us the faith to follow you, rather than the idolatrous god of heterosexuality.

■More good news. A *USA Today*/CNN/Gallup Poll has announced that people who identify themselves as pro-choice are now officially in the minority at 48 percent, down from a high of 56 percent in 1996. There is no substantial difference in the numbers of pro-choice men and women, at 47 percent and 49 percent respectively. But there is a big difference when it comes to nurses. *RN* magazine found that almost two-thirds of hospital-based registered nurses say that partial-birth abortions should be illegal. Sixty percent say that they would not work in an OB/GYN unit where any kind of abortions were performed, whereas 52 percent a decade ago said they would. And only 37 percent of nurses who work in obstetrics or nurseries say they would work in abortion-performing units, down 18 percent from 1988.

■Elias Canetti once observed that, in the modern world, it would soon be easier to start a nuclear war than to hang a man from a lamppost. David Rieff writes, "The remark perfectly encapsulates the strange combination of sentimentality and hard-heartedness that marks our time." Rieff, sobered by the catastrophe in Serbia, cautions against the well-intended advocacy of human rights or humanitarian caring as the lodestar of international affairs. "To add more statutes to the canon of international law when no one has yet come up with an effective way of enforcing the Geneva Conventions is not a solution; nor is fulminating about the public's 'compassion fatigue' when confronted by humanitarian disasters, or reproaching the politicians for failing to stand firm. Despite what some proponents of the Internet may suppose, information is not the same as knowledge. And, in a society suffering from a bad case of information overload, to demand that people mobilize themselves year in and year out to sacrifice to save Rwandans, Bosnians, or Timorese, possibly at the cost of the lives of their loved ones, is unrealistic at best. The global village is not reality; it is, viewed from anything but a technological or business perspective, a metaphor." Sentimentalism's posturing of more-caring-than-thou has distinct limits. "Doubtless, the menu of utopian conceits, from the insistence that if only people would care more, or if we had better leaders, or if there were a world government, every wrong could be righted, will always prove alluring. Those prone to utopian habits of feeling and thought at times like to claim that they are the only people who feel or care deeply. That is why wresting morality away from those who claim a monopoly over it might, in itself, be an important first step toward re-creating the solidarity and moral responsibility that is sorely lacking and so badly needed today."

■According to the *Guardian* of London, the Holy See was playing a nefarious role at the Cairo+5 conference of the United Nations by opposing, among other things, access to abortion as a human right to be guaranteed in international law. In the story, Frances Kissling of Catholics for a Free Choice is quoted as saying that the Holy See's representatives are "working with countries such as Argentina and Guatemala, which support their views." Apparently working with the member states of the UN is against the rules. Not only that, but the Holy See is also "mobilizing conservative organizations within the U.S. which are not necessarily Catholic to lobby delegates." Lobbying delegates? That is going too far. Says Kissling, "They planed and bused in over a hundred young people—mainly from Utah, which is heavily conservative and Mormon." The Vatican is bankrolling the Church of Latter-Day Saints! The plot thickens. Clare Short, Britain's secretary for international development, also shares Kissling's outrage at the insidious cooperation with Muslim states. "The Holy See is in an unholy alliance with reactionary forces deeply unholy, and I speak as a fully signed-up ethnic Catholic, as I learned to call myself in Bosnia," says Short. I didn't know you could sign up for that. Maybe there's a form, "Ethnicity: Catholic." Ms. Short adds, "There's this alliance trying to find governments which, for one reason or another, they can bully into adopting a position to obstruct this growing, informed international consensus." Possibly the Holy See is threatening them with a cut-off of IMF loans, or maybe a nuclear bomb. It is all wondrously silly, of course. Not only the *Guardian* but the *New York Times* and other media gave vent to their angry astonishment that anyone should challenge what they declare to be the consensus of the enlightened. It is also wondrously encouraging, and I trust that Archbishop Renato Martino, who represents the Holy See at the UN, is gratified by his press, which is an indicator of his effectiveness.

■The Trinitarian Fathers, who have 600 members

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and 378 priests in 32 countries, were founded in 1198 for the purpose of ransoming and educating slaves, both Christian and Muslim. Eight hundred years later, they have announced that they are returning to their original charism in Sudan, where slavery is a big business under the auspices of the government in Khartoum. There the Trinitarians will be joined by Christian Solidarity International, which has been ransoming slaves for several years. For its trouble, Christian Solidarity was, at the urging of Sudan, recently decertified as a nongovernmental organization (NGO) at the United Nations. According to human rights groups, Khartoum is responsible for the deaths of two million Christians and animists in the South over the last ten years. Eight hundred years later. Think about it. It's enough to raise doubts about the idea of moral progress.

■Stereotypes, stereotypes everywhere, but we're not supposed to mention them unless we approve of them—or are making a buck out of them. "Cracking the Gay Market Code" is a big story in the *Wall Street Journal*. According to "gay marketing experts," the key in advertising is to get across a message to homosexuals without, as the lady said, scaring the horses. So Subaru advertises cars with a bumper sticker showing a blue and yellow equal sign, the logo of the gay Human Rights Campaign. A man in a VW ad delicately wipes off a speck of dust on the dashboard, "a reference to the obsessively neat stereotype." There are pink triangles in ads for Coors Light and Borders bookstores, while Benetton puts AIDS ribbons on men's drawers. "Sly sexual references also play well to some gay consumers. Many gay men will get the double entendre in a Bud-Light ad showing a man carrying a six pack and the words, 'Nice package,' printed over his jeans." And to think that poor Jerry Falwell got into such hot water for allegedly suggesting that a cartoon character was intended to insinuate the gay subculture into the mainstream. (Actually, as mentioned here before, he did not suggest that. One of his publications reported that the *Washington Post* suggested it, with approval.) In any event, "insinuate" is probably not the right word for multimillion dollar television and magazine ad campaigns. Certainly it's not the right word for Budweiser's sponsorship of San Francisco's gay and lesbian Leather Parade, featuring a Bud bottle in a leather harness and topped by a motorcycle cap.

■The *Wall Street Journal* cartoon itself is modestly funny. Walking by a building marked "Holcombe Divinity School," one student asks the other, "Are you going to find a job, or start your own church?" It is also just a little funny that the cartoon editor did not recognize that that is precisely what one Protestant, especially evangelical Protestant, seminarian might ask another, since launching a new local church is a common choice. This is no big deal, mind you. Just another item for your file on minor culture gaps.

■Orwell wrote about "renegade liberalism," otherwise known as "liberalism in a hurry," meaning liberalism that had no time to be liberal toward what gets in its way, and therefore must, in order to advance its liberal purposes, become tyrannical. These are among the quandaries and contradictions addressed in a marvelous series of articles in the *New Criterion* on "the betrayal of liberalism." John O'Sullivan has the tenth article in the series, titled "The Moral Consequences of Impatience." He writes: "Renegade liberalism is seen at its most impatient and peremptory, however, in the justification that liberal lawmaking by the courts is necessary because 'the legislature has failed to act.' In reality, the legislature has acted by rejecting or refusing to consider the matter in question. What the justification assumes is that the proposed reform is a moral or historic necessity which Congress (and the voters) are not really entitled to reject. If they do so, the courts must put the matter right. That is the arrogance of power." You might want to keep that handy for the next person who asks what all this fuss over the judicial usurpation of politics is about. But I am most grateful to Mr. O'Sullivan for bringing to my attention Samuel Butler's observation that "those who scorn respectability as a tepid imitation of real virtue usually turn out to be the same people who cannot meet its unexacting demands." (The *New Criterion* series has been anthologized in a new book, *The Betrayal of Liberalism: How the Disciplines of Freedom and Equality Helped Foster the Illiberal Politics of Coercion and Control*, edited by Hilton Kramer and Roger Kimball, and published by Ivan R. Dee.)

■Reports that the U.S. Army had appointed chaplains to witches (they prefer Wiccans) turned out not to be true, but the army, along with several courts, has recognized them as a religion. There are supposed to be somewhere around fifty thousand adherents of the cult, which has a special appeal to teenage girls. Congressman Bob Barr is among those who think the army is overreaching on the tolerance front. Andrew Stuttaford writes in *National Review*: "Citing an image of George Washington at prayer, the Congressman managed to suggest that

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witchcraft was somehow un-American. He could not be more wrong. For if ever a religion was tailor-made for a contemporary America in full flight from the Enlightenment and the Founding Fathers, it is Wicca." Stuttaford notes that Wicca was invented in the 1950s by a retired British civil servant, Gerald Gardner, who had a reported interest in nudism and flagellation. The doctrine, so to speak, patches together bits and pieces of J. R. R. Tolkien, with practitioners communicating in Hobbitspeak and going on about the olde worlde magick of Athanes, Stangs, Runes, Summerland, and scrying-glass. In its American version, Wicca has taken a fiercely feminist turn, with instant victim status certified by its very own holocaust, the old European "burning times." Stuttaford expects that Wiccans will soon be making the standard victim claims about discrimination, hate crimes, and the need for affirmative action for Wiccans as "the old witch's cackle is replaced with the litigant's whine." The military is a special case and it has doubtful competence to make decisions about what its members say is their religion. An inquiry elicited a long Department of Defense document that, in circuitous bureaucratese, indicates that the Wiccans will not be getting chaplains any time soon. For more general legal purposes, the First Amendment provides little guidance. It guarantees that the federal government will not establish a national religion and will not interfere with what the states do about religion. Aside from a relatively small number of people putting their souls in peril—a risk freely indulged in various ways by most Americans—I expect the Wiccans do not warrant a prominent place on our list of things to worry about. They are prime candidates for one of those little newspaper squibs ten years from now, under the title "Where are they now?"

■Dennis Prager says he is embarrassed, as a Jew and as an American. Since 1853, the baccalaureate service at Duke University, which is associated with the United Methodist Church, has included giving to each participating graduate a copy of the Bible, meaning the Old and New Testaments. Last year, Jewish faculty and students objected, claiming it is offensive to Jewish students to offer them a book that contains the New Testament. Prager writes: "To summarize the situation in even simpler terms: Duke Jewish faculty and students and Jewish institutions at Duke object to Jewish students participating in a service where Duke offers a gift of a Bible *that contains their own Jewish Bible* and also the New Testament; *where any participant is free not to take that Bible*; at *a service that is entirely voluntary*; in *a university that is private* and affiliated with the Methodist Church. One of the best words to describe this attitude is actually a Hebrew/Yiddish one—chutzpah. Another word might be ingratitude. We American Jews are probably the most fortunate Jews in Jewish history. We live the freest, most economically secure lives in Jewish history in a country that not merely tolerates our religion, but has always honored it. And who made such a country possible? Men and women, nearly all of whom were Christian, who regarded Judeo-Christian values as the basis of this society, even as many of them fell short of these values. In our specific case, it was not Jews who made Duke University, it was Christians, indeed a specific Christian church. Instead of being grateful to the tradition that created their country and their university, some Duke Jewish faculty and students have decided that they are *offended* by it." Prager continues: "The Jews of Duke have undermined the Judeo-Christian and Western cultural foundations of American culture and of their university. And for what? So that Jewish students not hold a Bible containing Christian scriptures. How sad. Apparently, Multiculturalism and Tolerance don't apply to Christians." In the tradition of clear thinking and firm adherence to principle for which academic leadership is noted, Duke has responded to the protest by deciding that Bibles will no longer be handed out but will be stacked in a separate room where students who are interested in that sort of thing may take one.

■When Father Henri Nouwen, author of *The Wounded Healer* and many other immensely popular books on spirituality, died, some obituary writers were unsure how to deal with his homosexual orientation, a fact that was no secret among his friends. Michael Ford treats that and the many more important aspects of his life very deftly in *Wounded Prophet: A Portrait of Henri J. M. Nouwen* (Doubleday). Reviewing the book in *America*, Robert Durback writes: "It is important to point out that if there was much struggle for Nouwen in dealing with his homosexual orientation, it was precisely because of his commitment to live out his vow of celibacy. One might say that the most convincing witnesses to his commitment to celibacy are the most unwilling ones. As Ford notes, his students at Harvard resented his 'hard-line' approach and insistence on adherence to traditional Church teaching with regard to homosexuals. Nouwen may have struggled, but he made no compromises with his convictions." One might add that he struggled, and prevailed, because he made no compromises

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with his convictions. Ford puts it nicely: "Nouwen knew that he taught best those things which he needed to learn most." Over the years, many used Nouwen's writings, especially his stress on woundedness and vulnerability, in the fashionable cause of debunking the virtue of fortitude as it is associated with manliness. And it must be admitted that some of his writing almost invites such misuse. The greater truth, however, is that Nouwen did not take refuge or seek excuses in his weakness. His life was marked, rather, by a radical dependence upon grace for the courage to live in the truth.

■"Please cancel my subscription." We don't get many such messages, but we do get a few. Bill Buckley over at *National Review* tells me that his standard response is, "Cancel your own damn subscription." I admit to having been tempted to follow his example. Especially when people go on about how utterly wonderful the magazine is, how they've been reading it for years, etc. But then there is the unforgivable offense. Often it is our rejection of a letter or article for publication. "This is the most important article ever written on this subject," complains H. T. from Toledo. For better or worse, the editors will be the judge of that, thank you. "Your refusal to publish my letter shows that you're not interested in free discussion," charges W. E. from Corpus Christi. No, it shows that we receive many times more letters than we can publish, and the letters dealing with the item you discuss appeared two issues ago. As I say, we get very few cancellations. FT has a wonderfully loyal readership, and I'll return to that in a forthcoming issue dealing with our new survey of subscribers. We can't guarantee, however, that some readers will not at some time be offended by something. If or when that happens, please be patient with editors who have not yet attained perfection. If the offense is truly unforgivable, permit me to refer you to Mr. Buckley's suggestion.

■I note that in the *New Republic* Haverhills is advertising "Episcope" a "vest-pocket optical system." "The *Episcope* is the first choice of . . . anybody who likes to see the infinite detail in his/her surroundings. It comes with a plastic tripod for extended observations." Just the thing for episcopal oversight. Slip it into the vest pocket along with the pectoral cross. It does not say where to put the tripod.

■"Despite all the media babble about a 'celebrity culture,' the public sloughs them off with nary a thought." So writes Mark Steyn in Canada's *National Post*. The immediate occasion for that perhaps too sanguine observation is the super flop of Planet Hollywood, a restaurant chain launched by and leeching off the celebrity of Sylvester Stallone, Arnold Schwarzenegger, and others. Steyn notes also the publishers who signed up the likes of Naomi Campbell and Joan Collins to "write" novels. "Each time the public knew better," he writes. Then there is Oprah, the richest black woman in history, and her latest movie to which *Time* devoted a special supplement, "crediting her with an achievement somewhere between the discovery of penicillin and the circumnavigation of the globe." Nobody went to see it. "All the sophistication of the global hype machine crumbled before the lowest-tech communications system of all—Cyndi saying to DeeDee, 'Hey, that Oprah movie really sucks.'" But the most spectacular instance was the second anniversary of the death of Princess Diana, who even Steyn thought would be an "icon" with some staying power, comparable, say, to Marilyn Monroe. But it was not to be. The first anniversary memorial march was a dud, and the crowds are thin at her museum. "One day not too far in the future," writes Steyn, "visitors will stand outside the Princess of Wales Theatre in Toronto, as McGill students do on Prince Arthur Street, and idly wonder who on earth this obscure royal was. We should rejoice at public indifference in the wake of the media's celebrity bombardment, for it reminds us that, as the late Shah of Iran ruefully put it, 'Ingratitude is the prerogative of the people.' 'The English people need a light in their dark little tunnels,' the princess said with exquisite condescension. 'I'll be that light.' But, in their dark little tunnels, the people get by just fine, without Diana, without Oprah's movie, without Naomi's novel, and without Arnie's hamburgers." At the risk of raining on that happy thought, however, one notes that in this celebrity culture, and despite the notable failures he mentions, the media beat goes on. Who cares about staying power? The celebrity of the day is sufficient thereto.

■R. Albert Mohler, president of the Southern Baptist seminary in Louisville, suggests that recent statements of John Paul II "reverse nearly two thousand years of Christian teaching." The "most serious revision of the biblical understanding of Hell," says Dr. Mohler, is the Pope's statement that "Hell is not a punishment imposed externally by God, but the condition resulting from attitudes and actions which people adopt in this life. So eternal damnation is not God's work but is actually our own doing." The question is, Who is

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responsible for people being eternally damned? Dr. Mohler's insistence, if I understand him correctly, that eternal damnation is God's doing is a very serious charge which he would be well advised to withdraw while there is still time.

■"To think of Africa is to weep." That is a sentiment frequently expressed by those who think of Africa. Outside of Africa, very few people do. The "willful absence" of the West is largely responsible for the horrific problems of violence and poverty in Africa, especially in countries of the Great Lakes Region such as Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo. So says Archbishop Simon Ntamwana, president of the Burundi Bishops Conference, in a recent interview: "The blame must be put first of all on those who produce and supply weapons. We do not produce them. The 'big' ones make them available because it is in their interest. The economic and political powers of the world see the Great Lakes region as a most interesting field for political and economic maneuvers in their favor. Think for example of the riches of former Zaire. There, the fight is over mineral resources in which neighboring countries think they have something to say. Then there is the religious analysis. In many dioceses in Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo, Catholics are more than 50 percent of the population. These are the three most Catholic countries in Africa. The aim behind these wars is to destabilize the presence of the Church, to do harm, eliminating a moral barrier which works for reconciliation. The United States of America is mainly responsible: it is a fact that the U.S. is here among us. The path of these conflicts seems to be directed precisely by the United States. It is clear. They came in to defend those who had been struck by genocide but now it is clear they have other interests. Then there is the responsibility of omission. The European Union has withdrawn from the area. France was in the front line, but now that Paris has withdrawn, the European countries have lost interest in Africa: they close their embassies, leaving only their consulates. Cuts in cooperation have left Africa an abandoned continent." The Archbishop goes on to speak of the "invasion" of "religious sects" with U.S. backing, combined with the destabilizing effect of economic "neoliberalism" and "cultural globalization." The Archbishop's plaint is similar to that of many Latin American bishops. In *Appointment in Rome,* I quote a Colombian bishop who says with a sad smile that Latin Americans blame their problems on massive U.S. intervention and are sure that the answer to their problems is massive U.S. intervention. So it would seem that in Africa the fault lies with both the willful absence and sinister presence of the West. However confusing such an analysis may be, it is the fact that, after the successful struggle against apartheid in South Africa, most of the world seem quite content to simply forget about Africa, to erase the entire continent from the atlas in our minds. That is one reason why John Paul II has made so many pastoral visits to the continent. It is mainly up to the Christian community to make sure that Africa is not forgotten—and to keep an eye on the Western interests there that are less than benign.

■Evangelical Protestants in Michigan were generally enthusiastic about the launching of charter schools, but now some are having second thoughts. Charter schools, which are certified by a state university, get almost as much money per student from the state as do public schools, which means that they are "free" to parents. Not surprisingly, charter schools are drawing students from independent "Christian schools" that are supported by tuition, since the charters offer pretty much the kind of moral/religious ambiance that evangelical parents want for their children. It does seem both anomalous and a touch self-serving for leaders of Christian schools to be joining the ACLU in charging charter schools with "violating the separation of church and state."

■Last month's Public Square contained the article "Chesterton and the Thereness of It." For those whose appetite was whetted for more G.K.C., we highly recommend the *Chesterton Review,* a quarterly journal containing articles by and about the great man. Now in its twenty-fifth year, the review is published by the G. K. Chesterton Institute of Meriden, Connecticut, in cooperation with the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Subscriptions cost $30 per year ($38 in Canada) through Intercollegiate Studies Institute, P.O. Box 4431, Wilmington, Delaware 19807. Visa and Mastercard orders can be made by calling (800) 526-7022 or sending e-mail to <isi@isi.org>. (Canadian orders should be sent to the *Chesterton Review,* 1437 College Drive, Saskatoon, SK S7N OW6; (306) 966-8971.)

■I hold no brief for the political causes of Pat Buchanan, but something deeply unfair and dishonest is going on in numerous comments about his new book *A Republic, Not an Empire* (Regnery). Buchanan's retelling of the history that led up to U.S. participation in World War II is being twisted by pundits into the slanderous claim that he is indifferent to, if not supportive of, the horror posed

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by Hitler. Read chapters fourteen through sixteen. Buchanan is undoubtedly right in saying that, until Pearl Harbor, most Americans, including leaders of both parties and the very distinguished members of the America First Committee, opposed entering the European conflict, and many historians agree that the Anglo-French commitment to defend Poland, which they were in no position to do, was a blunder. Whether in a different scenario Hitler would have taken out the Soviet Union, thus precluding the Cold War, and whether the Holocaust would not have happened as it did under the cover of Germany's total warfare are eminently debatable questions that are in fact debated by eminent scholars. Buchanan deserves to be criticized for what he actually says. It's a matter of simple honesty. Were he a historian or journalist, one might commend him for reminding us of an alternative, if highly controversial, reading of twentieth-century history. But for someone who is running for the presidency to be egregiously and, it appears, obsessively pressing such hot buttons strikes me as, gently put, pretty dumb.

■Two families of students killed at Columbine High School have sued the school for refusing to install their memorial to their children. The families were invited by the school to make a statement on ceramic tile and they came up with religious themes employing crosses and verses from the Bible. The Jefferson County School District claimed that displaying their art would violate the separation of church and state. A spokesman for the district also noted that religious themes might offend some people. Don't those parents read the papers? Have they not heard about the Brooklyn Museum? Don't they know the current rules about religion, art, and censorship? Admittedly, elephant dung may be hard to come by in Colorado, but surely a substitute could be found.

■Our friend David Coolidge, who directs the Marriage Law Project in Washington, D.C., sends along some notes on a recent conference at King's College of the University of London. A hundred and fifty judges, lawyers, and professors from the more developed and enlightened nations addressed "The Legal Recognition of Same-Sex Partnerships," leaving no doubt that their benighted citizenries would never move toward justice unless pushed by the courts. Such a push, employing the European and other courts in expanding the definition of human rights, was confidently predicted at the conference. Mr. Coolidge and a few others had a somewhat different view of the matter and were, not surprisingly, condemned as homophobic. The big conflict at the conference, it seems, was between those who advocated same-sex marriage and those who wanted to abolish marriage altogether. A fetching formulation was offered by Justice Michael Kirby of the High Court of Australia, recently "out of the closet," who declared that the ancien régime of shame and discrimination is over. "Reality and truth rule. Rationality and science chart the way of the future." At last, 1789 arrives down under.

■A pregnant twelve-year-old in Scotland wanted to keep her baby but was in dire financial straits. The Catholic Church offered to pay the bills. This was just weeks after the British government launched a program to cut the number of teenage births. The Church's action provoked a furious backlash in some quarters. Said Sarah Colborn, head of the National Abortion Campaign, "We are talking of money being offered to a child to keep a baby, which removes choice." (Choice that counts as choice removes the baby.) The thirty-five-year-old father of the girl vehemently denies that she has been bribed to keep the baby, whom he and his wife plan to rear.

■The Senate's rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was "a major defeat for arms control," says Bishop Joseph Fiorenza, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The treaty, he claimed, was "not just a political or legal instrument, but a moral commitment." No, the treaty was a negotiated proposal submitted for consent by the U.S. Senate, which is the body constitutionally authorized to make treaty commitments. It is possible that Bishop Fiorenza is an assiduous student of the complexities of arms control, but a majority of U.S. Senators, after consulting a wide variety of experts and an extensive debate of the matter, concluded that the proposed treaty was poorly designed and would likely increase, rather than decrease, the dangers of nuclear proliferation. Frankly, I am less sure about which side is right on this question than I am sure that disagreement over it does not divide the morally committed from the morally indifferent.

■At the same time the Senate voted 63-34 to ban partial-birth abortions, it adopted by a vote of 51 to 48 a nonbinding resolution offered by Senator Tom Harkin that *Roe v. Wade* was an "appropriate decision" and "such a decision should not be overturned." Some pro-lifers were discouraged by

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the latter vote, but consider: 1) Almost three decades after *Roe v. Wade* was supposed to have "settled" the abortion question, it is the most unsettled question in our public life; 2) Seven years after the *Casey* decision in which the Supreme Court said that the rule of law requires that opponents of *Roe* cease and desist in their opposition, almost half the Senate votes against it; 3) The nonbinding resolution does not even mention abortion, never mind abortion on demand, which, according to every poll, is overwhelmingly opposed by the public; 4) The nonbinding resolution is nonbinding, i.e., has no legal effect whatever, and will not survive House-Senate conference on the partial-birth abortion measure. In sum, the pro-abortion party has more reason to be discouraged by the vote on the Harkin resolution than do pro-lifers.

■United Methodists are not united in their response to the New Jersey Supreme Court's decision that the Boy Scouts must accept homosexual scoutmasters. The Rev. Joseph Harris is general secretary of United Methodist Men, and his agency oversees Methodist scouting programs, which include more than four hundred thousand scouts in eleven thousand local units. The agency supported the Boy Scouts in the New Jersey case and says it will support the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Board of Church and Society, however, which is the largest religious lobby in D.C., voted four-to-one in approving the New Jersey decision, declaring that nondiscrimination toward sexual orientation is "the law of the church." There's that old legalism again.

■Britain's John Cornwell, author of *Hitler's Pope*, which alleges that Pius XII was complicit in the Holocaust, says that he is "the victim of a mud-slinging campaign orchestrated by the extreme right wing of the Catholic Church, which has tried to discredit my research tools, accusing me of weaving a conspiracy against the papacy." (See William D. Rubinstein's review elsewhere in this issue.) The Holy See did issue a very polite clarification noting that Mr. Cornwell did not spend as much time doing research in the Vatican Library as he claims in his book (the library keeps very careful records of those using its archives), that he did not find any new documentation, and that the "unpublished letter" that his book claims demonstrates Pius XII's anti-Semitism was, in fact, published seven years ago and demonstrates no such thing. In response to which Mr. Cornwell warns the Vatican, "The more you demonize my message, the more aberrations like the Holocaust run the risk of recurring." The point would seem to be that, by denying that it is guilty of the first Holocaust, the Vatican will make itself guilty of the next. It appears that Mr. Cornwell is seriously unhinged.

■James M. Wall of the *Christian Century* is a loyalist, and his allegiance to liberalism in general and the Democratic Party in particular is perversely admirable. "It is hard not to conclude, given his recent stumbling about on the issue," Wall editorializes, "that at some point prior to his 30th birthday Governor George W. Bush used cocaine." Mr. Wall finds it hard not to conclude this, although he admits "there is no evidence of this, and there are no charges, only vague rumors." If he did use cocaine, he is "a possible future President who managed to escape punishment for a felony," and he has left himself "open to the charge that he is dissembling." Loyalist Wall has steadfastly defended the present President, despite notorious dissembling, perjury, obstruction of justice, and a very credible charge that he is a rapist. As Wall again says in the present editorial, "Sexual conduct between consenting adults that has no bearing on public duties is not the business of either the media or the public." Although there are arguments on both sides, and it is a little like the question about beating one's wife, I am inclined to think it would be better if Gov. Bush said yes or no to the drug rumor. Thoroughly one-sided and patently partisan, however, is James Wall's posture of anxiety about integrity in government. Many think the rank dishonesty of the present Administration is a grave public threat. But not James M. Wall, who is at home in the company of those skilled in the parsing of what the meaning of "is" is.

■Published by the Smithsonian Institute and promoted by the American Library Association, *Timelines of the Ancient World—A Visual Chronology from the Origins of Life to A.D. 1500* is reported to be a bestseller. The Family Research Council notes that Judaism and Christianity receive slight attention. For instance, in the timeline crossing from B.C. to A.D., the book notes that the period's most remarkable religious event was the "[addition of] four stone gateways to the Great Stupa at Sanchi in central India, showing scenes from the life of Buddha." So that is what the millennium is about. When questioned about the book's bias, the publisher responded, "While acknowledging that you are entitled to your opinion, our respective

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views as to the appropriate content and approach for the book are each valid from each perspective, but also very different." Which is to say, We're the publisher and you're not.

■A New Orleans lawyer sought an FHA loan for a client. He was told the loan would be granted if he could prove satisfactory title to a parcel of property being offered as collateral. The title to the property dated back to 1803, which took the lawyer three months to track down. After sending the information to the FHA, he received the following reply (actual letter): "Upon review of your letter adjoining your client's loan application, we note that the request is supported by an Abstract of Title. While we compliment the able manner in which you have prepared and presented the application, we must point out that you have only cleared title to the proposed collateral back to 1803. Before final approval can be accorded, it will be necessary to clear the title back to its origin." Annoyed, the lawyer responded as follows (actual letter): "Your letter regarding title in Case No. 189156 has been received. I note that you wish to have title extended further than the 194 years covered by the present application. I was unaware that any educated person in this country, particularly those working in the property area, would not know that Louisiana was purchased by the U.S. from France in 1803, the year of origin identified in our application. For the edification of uninformed FHA bureaucrats, the title to the land prior to U.S. ownership was obtained from France, which had acquired it by Right of Conquest from Spain. The land came into possession of Spain by Right of Discovery made in the year 1492 by a sea captain named Christopher Columbus, who had been granted the privilege of seeking a new route to India by the then reigning monarch, Isabella. The good queen, being a pious woman and careful about titles, almost as much as the FHA, took the precaution of securing the blessing of the Pope before she sold her jewels to fund Columbus' expedition. Now the Pope, as I'm sure you know, is the emissary of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. And God, it is commonly accepted, created this world. Therefore, I believe it is safe to presume that He also made that part of the world called Louisiana. He, therefore, would be the owner of origin. I hope you find His original claim to be satisfactory. Now, may we have our loan?" They got it.

■Charles Colson delivered the thirteenth Erasmus Lecture on November 3, 1999, and more than one person examining the program for that fine occasion noted that there was a gap. No Erasmus Lecturer is listed for the year 1989. That was the year that Immanuel Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi of Britain for twenty-four years, later Sir Immanuel and still later Lord Jakobovits, had accepted our invitation to deliver the Erasmus Lecture. Only days before the scheduled lecture he suffered a heart attack, and a day before the Erasmus Lecture of 1999 he died of a brain hemorrhage at age seventy-eight. Lord Jakobovits made important scholarly contributions in the field of medical ethics and was an outspoken witness to the culture of life. He was a strong exponent of human dignity and personal responsibility, and, at a time when the Church of England was cheerleading for the nanny state, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher reportedly said that she wished he were the Archbishop of Canterbury. That would likely have posed theological problems even for the Church of England. As it is, we should be grateful for Lord Jakobovits' life and testimony as Chief Rabbi. *Alav ha-shalom.*

■So, a reader asks, who writes all those informative and scintillating "briefly noteds"? How nice of her to ask, and to ask so nicely. The briefly noteds by contributors are usually signed, and the rest are written in house by the editorial staff, many by Alicia Mosier. Which gives me occasion to mention what some gimlet-eyed readers have already noted: Ms. Mosier, who came to us as an editorial assistant, has been promoted to Assistant Editor. The simple fact is that, in one year with us, she made herself nearly indispensable. She is a protégé of Professor Russell Hittinger at the University of Tulsa, and we are very pleased to have her with us. You will be hearing more from her, and not just in briefly noteds.

■A new century, a new millennium, and—way down the line in order of importance—the tenth anniversary, come March, of this publication. (There will be more on the last in the March issue.) The marking of time and times is of immeasurable importance. Time is the very stuff we live and, like our living of it, is an inexhaustible mystery. In the Christian intellectual tradition, there is a venerable line of thought that all time is present time. The past *is* only as we remember it, and the future *is* only as we anticipate it. Even at an early age, before I attained whatever measure of philosophical and theological acumen I possess, I found that unpersuasive. In that way of thinking, eternity is posited against time in the form of timelessness, and timelessness is a bore. But this is much more

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than a matter of personal disposition. An alternative understanding, that time is eternal, is not without its difficulties. As with all things that transcend our understanding, we can speak here only by analogy. Yet it does seem that the very life of God, Who is our beginning and our end, is not time-less but, if you will, timed. In the Old Testament, the God of Israel has a history with His people, and in the New this is the more explicitly displayed in the revelation of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The love that God *is* is the perfectly and eternally reciprocated love within the Trinity, and our hope of glory is participation in that perfect and eternal love. It is the love that holds the past to itself and freely creates for every present a future. Admittedly, these are heavy-duty thoughts, but they are the kind of thoughts I expect I will be thinking as we cross the threshold of the Great Jubilee Year of 2000. There is a reunion in Rome of students from our Tertium Millennium Seminar that is held in Krakow, Poland, and on the stroke of midnight, December 31, we and thousands of others will be with John Paul II, keeping vigil at the tomb of St. Peter. It will be almost exactly twenty-five years since I wrote the foreword to *Time Toward Home.* There are things in that book about which I have changed my mind, but in thinking about a new century and a new millennium, about this journal and you who read these words, I will stand by the passage with which the book ended:

> We seek God's word and will in a time and place not necessarily of our choosing but certainly of our trial. It is probably not the definitive time and place, surely not the best time and place, but it is our time and place, and His with us. It is a time of many times. A time for dancing, even if it be to the songs of Zion in a foreign land; a time for walking together, and in solitude; a time for marching in momentary triumphs, and in defiance of impending defeats; a time for crawling through hopes shattered and dreams betrayed; and then a time for falling to the final enemy—but not before, through our tears, we glimpse the New Jerusalem and hail it from afar, knowing it is all time toward home.

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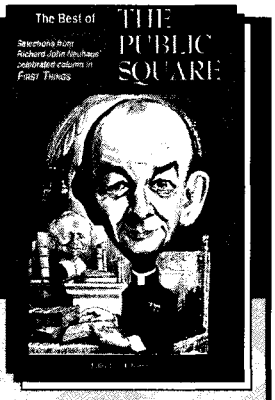

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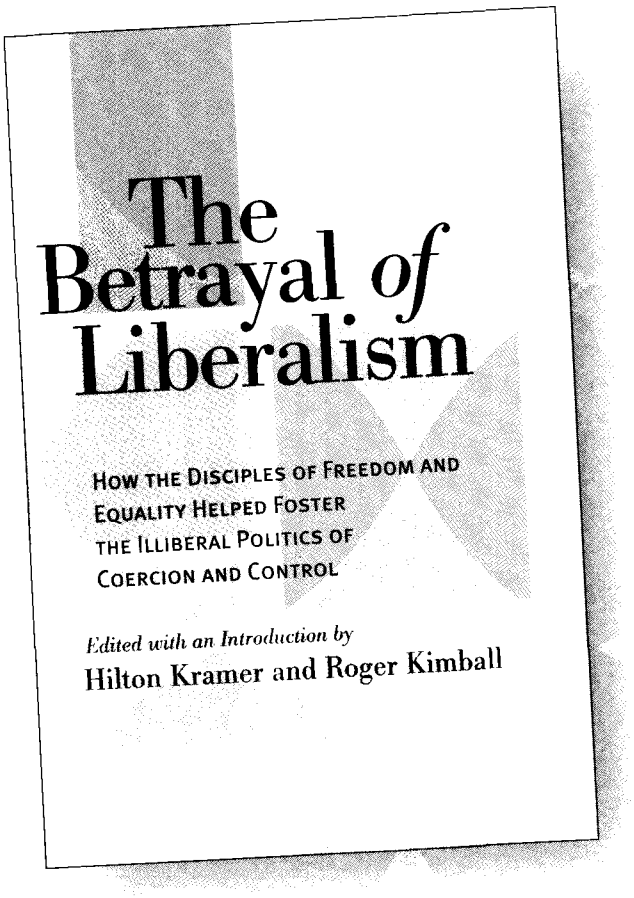
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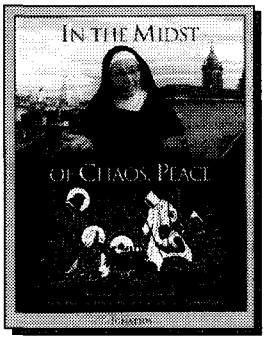

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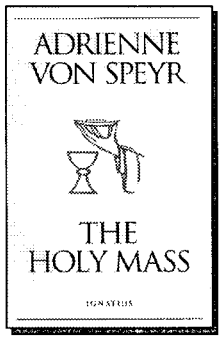

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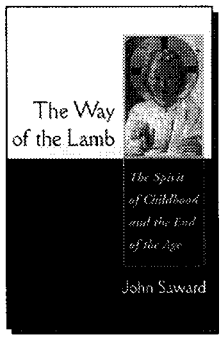

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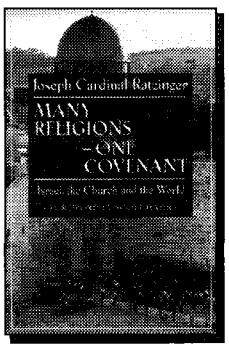

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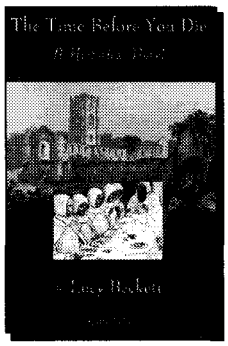

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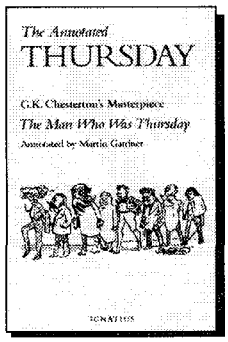

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